AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 9. No. 2 — JUNE 1950

TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS OF MALE EDUCATION AMONG PEDI AND COGNATE TRIBES [1]

G. M. PITJE

PART I

SYNOPSIS

The following Paper contains a brief description of the education of a Pedi boy from infancy to adolescence. The object of the Paper is to show the different agencies at work in the moulding of the individual's life, through formal and informal training. The Introduction *supplies the background against which this education must be studied. Although there is nothing new in the Paper as such, it is a first serious attempt to systematize and give a coherent and comprehensive evolutionary study of the Pedi boy, culminating in the formal education given in the traditional initiation schools. These schools are the be-all and end-all of Pedi life. Attendance at them confers upon the individual the status of a man, and extends to him the tribal franchise, with its powers, duties, privileges and responsibilities. Non-attendance at these schools means that the individual is for ever to remain a "boy" — a despised person who may not be admitted into the tribal councils and may not marry. Upon the death of the latter, all efforts are made to forget his name; a name that immediately becomes taboo in that family. The Paper further briefly states the values emphasized in Pedi society, as well as the methods and techniques used for impressing them upon the Pedi boy. Lastly, it focusses attention on the different attitudes adopted towards the schools and their products.*

INTRODUCTION

THE TERM PEDI is used to include all the Sotho-speaking tribes[2] of the Transvaal, but I shall use it here to refer to chiefdoms[3] living in reserves situated in Groblersdal, Lydenburg, and Pietersburg districts. These chiefdoms together constitute what is commonly called *Sekhukhuniland* because in the reign of Sekhukhune I, the great Pedi chief, they were subjugated and subjected to his rule and made to acknowledge the paramountcy of his dynasty.

The country of the Pedi lies in the eastern Bushveld of the Transvaal, between the Olifants and Steelpoort rivers in the north and south respectively. The eastern boundary is roughly

[1] Part of a thesis accepted by the University of South Africa, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in African Studies (Social Anthropology), in 1948. The full title of the thesis was : *Traditional and Modern Systems of Male Education among the Pedi and Cognate Tribes.*

[2] I use the term "tribe" here according to Prof. Schapera's (1937, p. 173) definition, viz. ". . . the body of people organized under the rule of an independent chief. Each tribe has its own name, occupies its own territory, manages its own affairs, and acts as a single united body in war. But it is primarily through their allegiance to the same chief that members of a tribe are conscious of their unity."

[3] That is, a group of people organized under the rule of a linear head whose position is hereditary in the male

the long ranges of the Leolo mountains. Besides the Olifants and Steelpoort rivers, the most important river is Ngwaritsi, one of the tributaries of the Olifants. The country is mountainous and well wooded in the east and hilly and bare in the west. The climate is by no means healthy and malaria fever is prevalent, particularly in the north, e.g. Magale's Location. The rainfall is low and irregular. Thunderstorms and lightning are of common occurrence during the rainy season and various myths are connected with them. As a result of the selective element in their incidence, they are generally believed to be man-made and man-controlled. Precipitation is torrential, and soil erosion is showing its ravages.

The main foods of the Pedi are maize, kaffir corn, millet, beans, melons, pumpkins, sweet-sorghums, and a variety of green-stuffs (*merôxô*), together with meat and milk curds from their cattle. Maize and kaffir corn are used for brewing beer (*byala*). Wheat was introduced by the missionaries and Boer farmers and with it the art of irrigation. Bread, coffee, tea and sugar are still a luxury enjoyed during feasts, Christmas and New Year seasons. Monkey-nuts have only recently been introduced by their neighbours—the Shangana-Thonga and Pai people, both of whom are much despised by them. The Pedi are mixed farmers practising agriculture side by side with pastoralism. The wealth of a man is measured, not by the number of bags he harvests, but by the number of cattle he possesses. In most cases those rich in cattle are also the rich in grain. In olden days women cultivated the soil while men looked after cattle, but since the introduction of the plough, men have taken an ever increasing part in the cultivation of lands. As a rule men do the tougher work of breaking sods, ploughing virgin soil, and carrying the harvest home. The women do the lighter work of weeding (*xo hlaxola*) and harvesting (*xo buna*). Much of the work is, however, accomplished by means of co-operatives (*xo thselêlana*) and work-parties (*matšema*).

The first Europeans to come into contact with the Pedi were the Boer trekkers of Hendrik Potgieter about whom we are told: "His voortrekkers appeared in Sekhukhuniland from the Waterberg side. Sekwati with all his men went to meet him at Molahlegi's, not far from Rooibokkop on the Olifants river, bringing elephants' tusks and some sheep and goats as presents. The meeting was friendly and the voortrekker party passed over Magnet-Heights to the west, eventually founding Orhigstad in 1845."[1] The first Europeans to settle in the country were members of the Berlin Missionary Society. "In the year 1860 the Rev. Mr. Merensky of the Berlin Mission paid a visit to chief Sekwati. He returned the following year to settle at xa-Seôp la."[2] This place is now commonly known by the name Schoonoord.

Boer field-cornets followed the Berlin missionaries closely and after them came a few farmers. Pronounced economic changes did not however, follow immediately, but came gradually with the opening of the mines—particularly the gold mines of the Reef and the diamond diggings at Premier Mine, 25 miles east of Pretoria; also the platinum mines of Maandagshoek. Since then young men have developed the habit of going to the mines for a few months to earn money. This money is used to pay government taxes (poll tax, dipping tax, dog tax, etc.), buy clothes and other usable articles from European stores. To-day the tendency is for them to spend a longer period in the towns and a few of them have settled there more or less permanently.

The most characteristic feature of Pedi social and political structure is their centralized form of government under a hereditary chief (*kxoši*). This chief is the head of a linear group (*leloko*) which is generally recognized by the other linear groups (*maloko*) as the ruling family. Traditionally the largest political unit is the chiefdom. At its head is the chief whose position is hereditary, passing patrilineally from father to senior son, or,

line, passing from father to son. As a rule members of a linear group can trace relationships among themselves genealogically as well as relations between the linear head and the rest of his subjects. The linear head is invariably called chief (*kxoši*). In the chiefdom are also included people who have joined the group by adoption, conquest (*mathupya*), or by formal and verbal negotiations (*bafaladi*).

[1] HUNT, 1931, p. 288.

[2] SCHWELLNUS, p. 63.

where the chief has no son, to his younger brother, or the latter's senior son. However in the past, cases of usurpation by junior sons or brothers were not unknown. A customary practice which tends to complicate Pedi succession is the custom of marrying a wife to a dead kinsman. This type of marriage is arranged in cases where a man dies before he has married a wife, or, if having married a wife, she does not bear male children (even after his death), or when a chief dies before marrying a senior wife whose lobolo is invariably paid collectively by his followers. This wife is called *tima-mollô*, i.e. fire-extinguisher, arising out of the practice of extinguishing fires in the kraal on the day of her arrival. This is an acknowledgement of her seniority by her co-wives. The latter is a vicarious marriage and the vicarious husband may be the deceased's younger brother, half-brother (own or classificatory), or his own son by another wife, preferably one next in seniority. If the vicarious husband is the deceased's own son, they say : "He begets his own younger brothers" (*o tswala bo-monna 'xwê*). In this connection it must be observed that biological paternity is superseded by cultural paternity because accoding to Pedi philosophy, "It is the lobolo that begets the children." Thus a man who cohabits with a woman and has children by her, but has not paid any lobolo for her, is always reminded : "*Ngwana ke wa kxomo*". It is the lobolo cattle that legalize a customary union and legitimize the offspring. Again, if the senior wife of a man has no male issue, another woman—preferably one of her sisters, or a relative of hers—may be taken to raise seed for her. Similarly if she bears no children at all, another woman may be married to raise seed for her. She is characteristically called "the wife for cleansing thighs" (*ke mosadi wa xo hlatswa dirope*).

In short, when a man's wife dies, her sister may take her place (as in the sororate) with a minimum of social inconvenience to the children, both as a wife and in the relationship of the husband's and wife's groups to one another. Similarly under the levirate custom, a dead man's brother is expected, or may actually be compelled, to marry his widow. Both customs add interest to Pedi cases of succession. But they are also a cause of complications in the line of succession.

A woman married by the "cleansing of thighs" custom has no independent status as a wife, but takes after the senior wife in whose courtyard (*lapa*) she lives. Her senior son then succeeds to the chieftainship when it becomes vacant. During the minority of the true heir the chieftainship is held by a regent, usually the deceased chief's younger brother (*monna 'xwê*), half-brother (own or classificatory—*bo-morwa 'ra 'xwê*), father's younger brother (*rangwane wa kxoši*), or mother's brother (*malome wa kxoši*) ; but occasionally, as at present at Phahla, his widow.

As head of the chiefdom, the chief is lawmaker, administrator and judge, and is responsible for the welfare of his followers, and for conduct of their affairs. To help him he has two main executives—the first consisting of his near relatives and a few selected and trusted men in the royal kraal, and the second consisting of subchiefs (*dikxošana*) and headmen (*bo-ra-maxôrô*) who are hereditary heads of linear groups (*maloko*) falling under the jurisdiction of the chief. Such a sub-chief or headman has a piece of ground allotted to him for residential purposes where he and his followers may build. Such a unit is called a *kxôrô*.[1] These sub-chiefs and headmen have much the same powers and functions as the chief, though on a smaller scale. They are expected to maintain law and order and to carry out the orders of the chief. They are, strictly speaking, courts of first instance, and may not be ignored with impunity. Theoretically the chief owns the land on which they live and distributes it among his subjects, through the sub-chiefs and headmen. The chief acts as priest and magician on behalf of his people. He alone has the right to convene mass meetings, arrange ritual ceremonies, and impose the supreme penalty of death and banishment. Certain serious offences such as

[1] In practice the use of this term is rather confusing because it may mean one of the following : an entrance, men's council place, a unit under a chief, sub-chief or headman, or a territorial section of the village. In every case where this term is used, it is the context that will suggest the meaning.

treason, homicide, rape, and sorcery must be dealt with only by the chief and his court. All strangers visiting within his area of jurisdiction must be reported to him, while none of his own people may leave the territory without his permission.

In the days of Sekhukhuni I, the traditional organization of the chiefdom was modified by the creation of a larger political unit. This was the Pedi nation which came about with the amalgamation of Kone, Tau, and several other smaller chiefdoms. At the head was the paramount chief, Sekhukhuni, the great. His position was like that of an old tribal chief, but greatly enhanced. Under him came chiefs, sub-chiefs, and headmen through whom he ruled the country as a whole, then called *Bopedi*. He maintained order by means of an armed force. In order to consolidate his position as paramount chief, Sekhukhuni employed the system used by the Zulu and other tribes. He married Pedi girls to Kone and Tau chiefs, including chiefs of any neighbouring or defeated chiefdoms. The issue of such a marriage, namely, the succeeding chief of the chiefdom in question, was looked up to as a Pedi by birth. The chiefdom then fell under the thumb of Maroteng, the royal kraal of Sekhukhuni. Thus by conquest and marriage the Pedi extended their rule through out the length and breadth of the present Transvaal. Then boasted Sekhukhuni : "My country extends from the Vaal to the Limpopo" (*naxa yaka a bowa ka Lekwê le Lebêpê*). It was for this reason that he refused to pay taxes imposed upon him and his subjects by the Volksraad of the Transvaal Republic. This was one of the causes of the "Sekhukhuni War of 1877".

Fights that occurred among members of the ruling caste caused the fall of the Pedi kingdom. In 1882, Sekhukhuni himself fell by the hand of Mampuru, his half-brother and rival claimant for the paramountcy. Sekhukhuni had previously outwitted Mampuru and other rival claimants, some of whom now lived under banishment. The Republican government intervened. Mampuru was arrested, tried, sentenced to death and later executed in Pretoria. Then the Volksraad used the opportunity to break up the Pedi kingdom, which had been a great source of embarrassment to them, by creating several independent and semi-independent chiefdoms. The paramountcy of Maroteng was rudely shaken. The ruling caste was subdivided into three divisions, viz. (a) the Maroteng, which remained loyal to Sekhukhuni II, son of Sekhukhuni I. Their present chief is Morwa 'Mothšê, son of Sekhukhuni II ; (b) Malekutu, son of Mampuru, came back from his place of refuge among the Matebele of Nyabēla and settled down at Mamone together with his followers. Their present chief is Sekwati, son of Malekutu; (c) Kxolokwe, a half-brother of Sekhukhuni I, settled down at Madibung together with his followers. Their present chief is Morwa 'Mothšê, son of Kxolokwe. Now, theoretically Mamone and Madibung acknowledge the paramountcy of Maroteng. But in practice it is only nominally so. By playing them one against the other the White administration ensured their disunity. To-day the Native Commissioner enjoys the position of paramount chief over all of them.

To complete the work of disunity, the country was abitrarily divided into two magistracies—one at Nebo and the other at Shoonoord. By this arrangement, Mamone falls under Nebo while Maroteng and Madibung are both controlled from Schoonoord. Appeals from Madibung may be taken to Maroteng, or alternatively to the Native Commissioner's court at Schoonoord. On the other hand Mamone has severed all diplomatic relations with Maroteng and appeals from their court lie to the court of the Native Commissioner at Nebo. Attempts have been made to recognize Sekwati of Mamone as paramount chief in the Nebo area, but owing to determined opposition, particularly from the Kone and Tau chiefs, no material progress has been made in this direction. Similarly the Kone of Pokwani, who are now under the jurisdiction of Nebo and those of Bonwa-tau under Schoonoord, a people who formerly constituted a single chiefdom under one chief and had a common habitation at Phatametsane (in the Nebo area), are to-day recognized as two independent chiefdoms, each with its own chief who rules quite independent of the other.

As at present constituted it is through allegiance to the same chief that members of a chiefdom are concious of their unity. The chief is expected to govern with the help and advice of his people, exercised through various councils. First there are his official advisers—men whose position in the chiefdom or relationship to the chief entitles them to advise him and to be consulted by him. Such men are his close relatives and other influential sub-chiefs and headmen of the chiefdom. They are not members of a formally constituted body or council, but for the sake of good government and co-operation between all sections of the community they must be consulted on all matters of importance. They constitute what may be called, for lack of a better term, an administrative executive. The sub-chiefs and headmen are in charge of sections of the village (*motse*) called *dikxôrô*, and are entrusted with the administration of their sections subject to the supervision of the chief. A sub-chief or headman, together with his adult men (i.e. initiated men), may constitute a court of justice and try minor cases, such as complaints between a man and his wife, cases of seduction or premarital pregnancy, the use of obscene language by a junior person to a senior person, damage done to cultivated lands, and numerous petty household and domestic quarrels. Any man who is not satisfied with their judgement may appeal to the chief's court (*mošatê*).

Secondly, there are public meetings (*dipitso*) which are occasionally called by the chief in order to discuss matters of common concern. Those who attend are at liberty to ventilate their views without fear of victimization. This, however, largely depends on the force which public opinion has on the chief. Its effectiveness depends on the extent to which the individual may rely on collective responsibility. The masses (*maxokotlou*) are supposed to offer him protection unless they themselves think that he has gone beyond good taste in his speech, was vulgar, or provocative. In this case they may promptly take up the matter and eventually fine him a beast (*mangangahlaya*) which must be killed and eaten by all the men at the *mošatê*. Nowadays there is very little freedom of speech. Pedi chiefs are notorious for resenting remarks from commoners. After a commoner has aired his views it is not uncommon for the chief to ask: "Whose son is he?" which is generally interpreted to mean that his views are not acceptable to the chief who therefore feels personally insulted. It is also a reflection of the mentality common among nobles and the aristocratic class that those lower than themselves are not capable of advising them. It is the very negation of democracy and freedom of speech. Those who resent such treatment usually do so by reminding the chief that "*Kxoši ke kxoši ka batho*" (i.e. A chief is a chief by the grace of his people). This expression carries with it the threat that unless the chief rules by the will of the majority, his subjects may desert him. However, under European administration this threat cannot be carried out, at least not in the old sense, and therefore those who suffer under the tyranny of an autocratic chief just have to bear it. The influence of the Native Commissioner has, in many cases, been in the direction of making the chief more and more independent of his people. Consequently neither his official councils, nor the public mass meetings, exercise any democratic check on him. Since he depends on the Native Commissioner for his power he more often than not becomes the latter's puppet, dancing to his tune even at the expense of his own people.

Citizenship and the status of individual members of the chiefdom depend on several factors. A distinction is made in every chiefdom between its own members and alien membership of the chiefdom, which is defined not in terms of birth, but of allegiance to the chief: it is possible for people not born into a chiefdom to become subjects of its chief either by conquest (*mathupya*) or by placing themselves voluntarily under his rule (*bafaladi*). Every member of the chiefdom must conform to its laws and must also carry out certain special obligations, such as working for the chief (*bothokxô*), organizing hunting expeditions (*lesolô*), and attending public meetings. The chief, as "senior wizard", punishes all wizards and sorcerers thus ensuring the security of his people. In his "big pot of medicine" there is contained all

kinds of protective herbs and concoctions. The individual adult man is entitled to land on which to build his house, cultivate his crops, graze his stock and to all other facilities for earning a livelihood ; and to protection by the chief against interference with his person, his activities, and his property.

Rank is an important factor in classifying the people. The following classes may be distinguished : *dikxoši*, i.e. members of the ruling family ; *bakxômana*, i.e. the nobles or those related by blood to the rulers ; and *balata*, i.e. commoners. These distinctions are strictly observed and the *balata* do the menial work for the rulers and the nobles. When a member of the ruling family is punished, he may instruct a commoner to carry out or suffer the punishment on his behalf. Thus "Kxolane was ordered by Erasmus to turn out labour for work on farms. Among others Moreoane, the son of Moyalodi, was detailed to go but, as was often the case, provided a substitute.[1] Subsequently Moreoane was astonished to be punished for what he had always regarded as his unchallenged prerogative. It was a case of a clash of cultures. Pedi culture allowed Moreoane to find a substitute among his followers who could do his work for him while he went his way. Responsibility was to them divisible. On the other hand, European culture recognized no such divisibility of responsibility. Hence Moreoane was punished, and tribal law and custom was rudely shaken.

Age and sex are important factors in determining the status of a man. Women are perpetual minors in Pedi law, and are despised by their male counterparts. They are not allowed at the men's council place (*kxorong*) save on special occasions, for example, as witnesses in a law suit. On such occasions they approach the men's council place bending down in deep respect and *lothša* with both hands before they take their seats. In giving evidence, a woman may not look directly into a man's face "because a man is like a lion, and no woman can stare into the face of a lion". Should she shyly falter and stammer in giving evidence, some men may encourage her by calling out her praise name, or the honorific term of her totemic group, at intervals. Like all minors she cannot sue or be sued except through a guardian. Beer and tobacco are taboo to all women, but those who are past child-bearing may participate in a beer-party though it is still considered bad manners for a woman to be drunk. However most women take snuff. It is generally believed that snuff is a good remedy for a headache, toothache, and bleeding from the nose. Except for those who are past child-bearing no woman may enter into the cattle-pen. These taboos and others centre round the mystery of childbearing and menstruation, hence old women who are past childbearing are exempted, and girls who have not yet reached the stage of puberty are not affected. For the same reason girls below the stage of puberty are specially considered suitable for the performance of certain religious rites, such as *mohlapô*, that is the carrying of medicated water for making rain.

Women have age-grades (*mephathô*) corresponding with those of men, and are formed during initiation. Each age-grade has its own leader, and bears the same name as its corresponding age-grade among the men. These age-grades are functional units useful for organizing labour and tribal dances, but above all they play an important role during initiation.

Old women (*bakxekolo*) are highly respected as the repository of knowledge and are authorities in ritual matters. The older they become, the more venerated "because the curse of an older person is feared by every one". Similarly old men (*bakxalabye*) are greatly respected because of their knowledge of tribal lore, law and custom. Being well tried judges of the traditional courts, they often give wise counsel when there is a complicated case involving intricate customs. But they are also the mainstay of conservatism. They hate changes, particularly if such changes are likely to interfere with the existing order of doing things. Imperceptibly, however, profound changes do occur, and to-day they are taken as a matter of course. With these changes the old men are losing much of the respect and veneration paid to them in the past. They nevertheless

[1] HUNT, 1931, p. 307.

still play a leading role in matters pertaining to religion and magic. Their word is something prophetic "because they are, by reason of their age, nearer the grave and therefore nearer the spirits (*badimo*). They are the medium through which the younger folks may communicate with the ancestral spirits (*medimo*)."

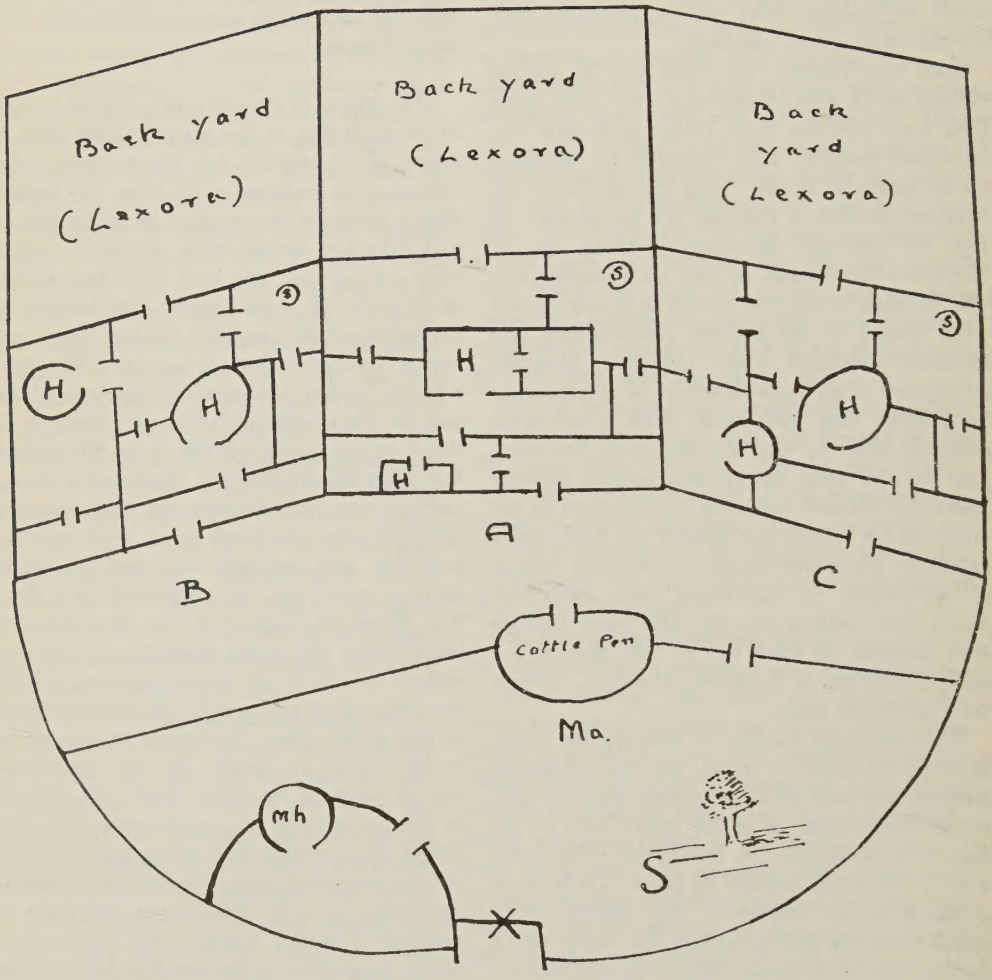
Like the Tswana, the Pedi live in central villages which contain anything from 50 to more than 1,000 persons. Each village is divided into territorial sections, each occupied by members of the extended family. Thus the people of the Mašifana section at Pokwani are descendants of Jake wa Phôôfôlô. Mamanye Mašifana, one of the direct descendants of Jake wa Phôôfôlô, was able to relate to me how members of this section were related to one another genealogically and to their traditional leader (*kxošana*). However polygynists often leave members of their section to establish their own kraals. Such a new kraal is named after the man who founds it. Nevertheless his new kraal has no independent political status. He himself continues to participate in the affairs of his section and attends the local courts regularly. His wives co-operate with the women of his section in discharging their communal duties. His children also play and work together with children of their age in that part of the village. The life of the *kxôrô*, therefore, remains very much the same.

The traditional method of building the kraals is much the same all round, viz. the courtyards (*malapa*) are built in a semi-circle, with the *lapa* of the senior man, or of the senior wife in the case of a polygynist, in the centre. The other half of the circle consists of poles. There is an entrance in the middle of this wooden fence which faces the gate (*seferô*) of the senior man's *lapa*, or that of his senior wife, as the case may be. The empty space between the courtyards and the wooden fence forms a public arena which is however divided disproportionately into a men's area and a women's area. A few yards from the gate of the central *lapa* is the cattle-pen whose entrance also faces the gate of the central *lapa*. A wooden fence on either side of the cattle-pen, touching both ends of the semi-circle, divides the men's area from the women's area. (See diagram on next page.) The men's area is the venue of all public gatherings. It is also an open theatre where traditional dances are held, and ritual ceremonies are performed. This is where the boys will meet before they proceed to the circumcision theatre.

The rythm of the daily life of a Pedi village varies according to the season of the year, the nature of the weather, and the personal circumstances of its members at the time. For instance, after a hailstorm no members of the village may undertake any serious work outside it until the chief has purified the land. Hail is considered an ill omen. "It is sent by the gods because they are displeased with us, their children. So we must search ourselves and mend our ways. We observe a public holiday until the land has been cleansed and the gods appeased." One sees here the idea that God is a good God who loves His children. But when His children sin, He punishes them by visiting them with illnesses and other calamities. Similarly after the death of an adult person all activities, save essential work such as cooking, drawing water, etc., are suspended for a day or two. Those who happen to have been out on the lands when the death occurred, return home silently to join in the mourning rites. Children are admonished not to make any noise or to play in any public place. Traditional drums are said to be "black" (*e fifetše*). In fact everything is said to be dark, *xo fifetše*. Death, the last crisis in the individual's life, is surrounded by ritual. People act according to a certain prescribed form of behaviour which gives overt and institutionalized expression to their beliefs and emotions, and provides a means whereby the survivors can adjust themselves to the loss they have suffered. The death of a chief is therefore an even more serious affair. It is generally associated with some abnormal natural phenomenon such as an eclipse of the moon or the sun, or the falling of a comet. It is said that on the death of Sekwati, one of the founders of the Pedi nation, there was an eclipse of the sun. There are specialists to interpret these natural signs.

A Diagrammatic Sketch Plan of xa-Morakane

Kxôrô ya Morakane



KEY

H = Hut or house.
S = Store-hut (*sehlahla*)
Mh = Men's hut (*hlafsi*)
A, B, C = The courtyards of Morakane's wives. *A* is the senior wife. After her comes *B* and then *C*.
X = Protective herbs tied on a piece of string.
S = Sun-shade (*sethšakxa*)
Ma = Men's area, where women are generally not allowed.

The length of the mourning period is extended at the discretion of the village elders or of the queen (*mohumaxadi*) if the latter is a powerful personality.

Otherwise there are certain activities of daily occurrence whose sequence forms a pattern with little variation. Waking, the toilet, the morning meal ; a period of work for the day which includes the collecting of fire-wood and poles for erecting fences (*maxora*), drawing of water, building of yards, etc. All work is organized on the basis of a division of labour based on sex differences. The ploughing season is by far the busiest when men, women and children leave home early in the morning to work on the lands. As most of their lands lie several miles out of the village, it is customary for them to erect temporary shelters on or near the lands to make full use of every little drift of rain. Then the village looks very much deserted except for a few very old men and women and their youngest grandchildren, fowls picking up scraps, and pigs scavenging the village. But whether at home or on the lands their pattern of life varies but very little. As a rule men are up before sunrise. The earliest bird amongst them makes a fire at the men's council place. But in the chief's kraal it is the man of lowest rank who is expected to make the fire. All men are expected to be up before sunrise. This is implied in their favourite expression : "*Monna xa a selwe*". If a man gets up late without any just cause, they derisively refer to him as "the man who is very fond of women". It is also believed that if a man remains under cover after most of the women and children are up, he can hardly be expected to get up "as all the sleeps of those who are up fall upon him". It is also said : "His wife must have thrashed him with the ear of her back-skin" (*o bethilwe ke mosadi ka lekôbê la ntepa*). Women also get up early in the morning, fetch water, and make fires in the courtyards, and do the cooking. Each co-wife of a polygynist has her own courtyard (*lapa*) in which she is mistress (see diagram on p. 60). She fetches her own firewood and water, or sends an unmarried daughter for them. At meals the ages and the sexes eat separately. The husband eats alone or with neighbours of his own age ; the older boys with their friends eat separately from the younger children ; and each mother again usually eats with her older daughters, apart. In polygynous families each wife must prepare a dish for the husband, notwithstanding the fact that she may not have seen him for many days. Failure to do so, unless otherwise warranted, may be taken as a sign that she no longer wants him. The morning meal is generally eaten between the hours of 9 and 10, and those who leave home before that time eat of the remains (*melatša*) of the previous night. After the morning meal the household breaks up for the day ; the folk disperse to their various pursuits. In a polygynous family each wife has her own fields (*mašimo*) nowadays ploughed by the husband and her own sons, which she plants, weeds and reaps with the help of her own daughters. Relatives and friends co-operate in their work parties by a system called *xo thselêlana* ; i.e. those who have finished work on their own lands must help those who, through no fault of their own, have still got a lot to do. After the day's work, they return home to assemble again for the preparation and consumption of the common meal in the evening. It is while they are seated by the fire-side after the evening meal that the old people relate stories about the past, folk-tales, fairy-storeis, fables and legends. The children may also solve one another's riddles (*dithai*). All of these form part of their education, and should not be neglected.

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

The Pedi have no notion about the life of a child and its experiences while it is in its mother's womb. They know that its antenatal span of life is roughly nine months. During that period the expectant mother observes taboos the breaking of which is believed will adversely affect her offspring. She must not expose herself to the rain "because if she does so her offspring will stammer". She may not sit by the fire-side with another pregnant woman or taste food that has been cooked in the same pot with hers, "because it will affect the health of her child". She must not be angered, "because her anger may be disastrous to the life of the child"; nor must she laugh at people with certain physical disabilities, "because she may bear a child with similar disability"; and so forth. Their interest in the child, therefore, seems to be limited in so far as it may, or may not, be affected by taboos. There is nevertheless no sexual taboo. Sexual intercourse is not only permitted, but encouraged during the early stages of pregnancy, because "it strengthens the cranium of the child" (*ke xo mo tiiša phôxô*). It is not clear at what stage such intercourse is discontinued, but from accounts given by different informants one may conclude that it is during the sixth or seventh month "because then the child has been fully formed". It would appear that such intercourse is encouraged mainly to discourage the husband from flirting with other women, thus neglecting his duty to the expectant mother. "If a man flirts with other women during the pregnancy of his wife, she is bound to miscarry because he is perpetually hot."[1] Under the circumstances we shall assume that they have no notions as to the experiences of the child in the mother's womb, except in so far as its life may, for good or for evil, be influenced by the observance or breach of taboos.

The Pedi rely on their own midwives, and the first-born of a woman must always be born in the mother's village, under her mother's care. However if the latter is pregnant, it is taboo for her to play the role of a mid-wife "because by so doing she may endanger the life of her own child". This taboo applies to all pregnant women. When labour is protracted the help of some more experienced mid-wife is sought.

Birthdays are of little account among the Pedi but the time of birth is carefully observed. According to them "normal births occur in the morning, in the afternoon, or in the evening. Mid-day and mid-night births are an ill omen.

There is strict privacy. A pole (*lephekô*) is placed across the door of the hut in which the expectant mother is confined, thus declaring it taboo to all people not helping in the delivery. Prostitutes are not allowed anywhere near the hut "because their blood is hot and their bodies are not clean". Traditional custom requires the mother to bear her pains with fortitude, and the woman who writhes and cries is much despised. The midwife ties the umbilical cord (*kalana*) with a piece of sinewed string about 3 inches off. The remaining piece is preserved for medical purposes. Every new-born is expected to cry in order to announce its own arrival in the new world. If it does not, they say: "*Xa se a be a tla*" (he has not come yet, i.e. he will not live long). The midwife announces its sex and if it is a boy, they say: "*Xo tlile kxoši*" (a chief has come). The father of the child sits at the men's council place anxiously waiting for the announcement. One of the midwives takes a pliable wand, and hides it in her dress. She goes to the men's council place and thrashes the new father. This means that a baby-boy has been born. If it is a girl, she takes a gourd of water and splashes it on him. Those present smile and congratulate him. But he may not see the baby until the

[1] This is related to the heat experienced during sexual intercourse. It is also believed that if a pregnant woman flirts with some one other than the man who has rendered her pregnant, not only will the child be affected, but the man will himself be affected by the heat of the womb.

confinement period is over. First the chief midwife bathes the baby and smears it with some fat or vaseline. It is cheered up and spoken to as if it understands. Honorific expressions are showered on it when it sneezes. If their actions are any guide, one may safely say that the Pedi believe that the education of a child begins right from birth. But exactly how much it can learn or be taught, they do not seem to know, as we shall presently see.

One may ask : What do the Pedi say of "human nature" and its relation to the teachability or otherwise of the individual ?

The Pedi make a vague distinction between "character training" and other training. To them, the birth of a child is nothing but the return of a deceased relative. If the newly born baby is a deceased relative re-born, then his character must be a replica of its predecessor's. Character is therefore inherited. But the newly born baby may also be the double of some living relative in which case his character will, without deviation, resemble that of the relative concerned. For this reason he is carefully examined so that he may be identified with a relative, living or dead. There is also a vague notion to the effect that an individual may inherit the physical characteristics of one relative and the character of another. This may be the cause of a family dispute. Mother says : "This child is just like X, your father's brother." Father retorts : "Yes, but his intolerant attitude resembles that of your paternal uncle." This apparent contradiction is also reflected in their speech. One of their well-known expressions is : "*Ngwan'a tadi o bônwa ka merêtô*" (i.e. The character of a parent is reflected in the child). Its antithesis is : "*E mafsi xa itswale*" (The good milk cow never bears a calf like itself). Another says : "*Mo thlako ya pele e xatileng ya moraxo e a xata*" (The hind hoof steps on the mark left by the fore one). Cutting across the above is the desire of every father to bear a son like himself in both character and physical features. As even names are believed to have influence on their owners, many fathers name their sons after themselves in order to make sure that they take after them.

Side by side with this vague and contradictory distinction is found the notion that an infant cannot be influenced. Until it can express itself in intelligible language and imitate some of their actions, it is believed that it cannot comprehend what it sees and hears. Therefore it matters not what you do to it during this period ; it will not change its character. With this vague knowledge, let us further examine the education of the Pedi infant.

Babies are always nursed, and in the cases where the mother's milk fails, a wet nurse is sought among kinsfolk. From the very first week the baby is given other food. During the period of confinement the child's main article of food is mother's milk, but it is from early infancy introduced to a kind of thin porridge called *lethaša*. Some mothers feed their babies on *lethaša* two or three days after birth. It is either spat into its mouth, or applied on its lips, so that it may trickle into its mouth. The quantity and thickness of this porridge increases with age. There are no regular feeding hours. A baby is fed whenever it cries. Hence their expression : "*Ngwana a sa lleng o hwêla tharing*" (A child that does not cry dies in the cradle). As soon as it can manage adequate quantities of this thin porridge, mother leaves it daily in the care of a nurse (*mofepi*), or of the grandmother. Grandmothers are very fond of nursing their grandchildren, but everywhere there are complaints that they tend to spoil children by pampering them. They are also held guilty of favouring some children at the expense of the others. Breast-feeding is reduced to a minimum of twice a day, namely, in the morning and in the late afternoon. Gradually the child is introduced to miscellaneous foods so that by the time he is weaned, food plays little or no part in the process. So long as it is at the breast, a baby sleeps with its mother, but after weaning the child is usually handed over to the care of some younger girl in the household. The chief nurse is usually a girl in her teens who carries it straddling the left or right hip, or on her back strapped tightly with a cradle-skin called *thari*. The woman without a nurse nurses her own baby. She does all her

domestic duties with the baby strapped to her back. When not on the mother's back the baby has little or no clothes. It becomes a centre of attraction when it begins to crawl, and when it begins to walk it joins a group of toddlers who give it its first lessons in independence. If it falls and hurts itself, the mother or nurse beats the ground saying : "Quiet, my baby ; I have punished it". Should it continue to cry, she sings it a lullaby. As a rule their attitude towards it is one of indifference. One who fusses over it is accused of encouraging it to be soft. And among the Pedi a softhearted man is considered a misfit "because he is just as good as a woman". The main consideration is that the babe must be well fed. Hence their expression : "*Ngwana o llêlwa tlala.*"

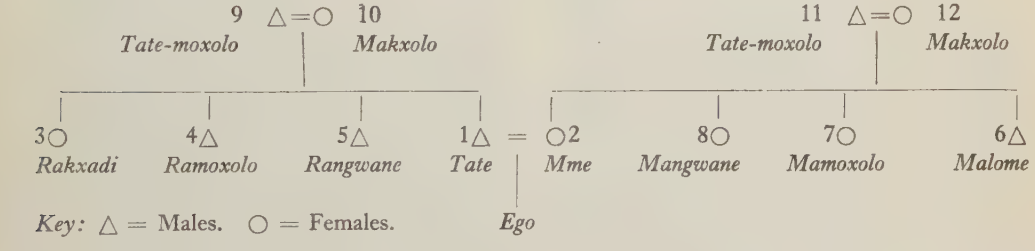
From birth until the age of three or four, a child's education is very simple. Priority number one is speech-training and the stimulation of its senses—particularly the senses of sight and hearing. In their language-training they speak a kind of baby-language consisting exclusively of monosyllabic sounds. It is generally accepted that the first two words the child usually utters at the beginning are : *Ma-ma* and *Pa-pa*, also *Ta-ta*. According to one woman-teacher at Marišane, "the child then continues to say : *Na-ne* for *Mane* (mother's younger sister) ; *To-to* for *Koko* (grandmother). At first the babe does not understand a word but hears the sounds that come from mother's lips. Afterwards the babe tries to imitate her. When the child is about three months old, it joins with mother's crooning, moving backwards and forwards and beating rhythmically over anything near by." The babe is poised and made to urinate at the sound sh! sh! sh! at regular intervals. At the same time it is expected to relieve itself. If it does not respond to such treatment and later makes a mess, it is spanked for its disobedience or lack of self-control. Any available material—be it a rough piece of wood, a mealy cob, a dirty piece of rough linen—may be used for cleaning the child. The process is rough and is performed while it cries in apparent agony. But the child soon becomes accustomed to it. The child must learn to sit and crawl within the house and its admirers wait patiently for the day when it can stand on its own and by supporting itself on something—a chair, a table or a wall—make its first attempt to walk. This is a great achievement for which the child is usually rewarded by being praised. Now it is going to be pulled about in order to be given practice in this new art. Pains are taken to teach it correct posture, cleanliness and cheerfulness. As soon as it is able to run minor errands it must practise self-control. Bodily control is not expected of small children, but by the time the child is about three years old its mother will take it outside the courtyard near the ash-heap and support it on the legs saying : "*Ka-ka*", until it relieves itself. In future if it makes a mess in the hut or courtyard, it is taken out to the ash-heap and smacked.

Grown-ups try to teach children the correct way of greeting and receiving gifts from their elders. Children must clap their hands and receive the gift with both hands. One hand, the right one, may be used when receiving a gift from one's equals. Under the influence of Christianity and the impact of western civilization children are further instructed to add : "*Tanki*" (from the Afrikaans word *Dankie*). This is enforced more strictly among Christians than among non-Christians. Only the right hand must be used for greeting. Children must learn to keep their scant loin cloths at least nominally fastened to their persons ; to treat fire, knives and other dangerous instruments with proper caution ; not to break crockery, or to misuse furniture, and must respect any food that has not been formally given to them. With regards to character building, to them, all things being equal, a thief begets a thief ; a murderer begets a murderer ; a sorcerer begets a sorcerer ; etc. Yes, training is only possible in acquiring skills and values but it does not touch personality and character. Since there is a period of infancy during which the baby cannot comprehend the world around him, and can, therefore, not be influenced, it matters not what one does to it, or does in its presence so long as one changes one's attitude toward it when it begins to understand. This accounts for the apparent contradiction in Pedi education.

The first gradual severing of the family bounds occurs when the child is between three and six years of age. The child learns to move away from the family and begins to be self-sufficient. Now begins for the boy the harsh and stern career of boyhood. Henceforward everyone appears hostile. Mother does not want him always at her side : "He is a boy and must learn to play with others." The nurses become increasingly rough in their dealings with him. Any responsible person who finds him in the act of wrong doing punishes him at will. Mothers of to-day, however, resent this treatment claiming that they are the only people entitled to exact punishment on their children. The result is general laxity and indiscipline.

This is the time of weaning. In the past the boy was not weaned until he left suckling on his own. Boys of six and seven are known to have gone out herding during the day, and returned in the late afternoon to feed at the breast. It is firmly believed that a child who remains long at the breast is given a good start in life and therefore he has a better chance of becoming strong and robust. Nevertheless suckling becomes of less and less importance, indulged in only at night, or when he feels in need of being fondled. When the need for weaning is felt those present poke fun at him whenever he feeds at the breast, saying : "*Mphowa! O ja dithšila*" (You eat dirt). He becomes shy and feeds only when there is no one around, particularly his companions who would jeer and sneer at him. Sometimes the mother applies some native pepper (*pherefere*) to her breast in order to deter him. The process of weaning is gradual and entails no severe shocks to the child. As a matter of fact he often leaves off sucking quite naturally. Forced weaning is practised only in a few cases, e.g. when the mother becomes pregnant, and it is unpopular. The people say : "*O a xatlêla*" (She is endangering the child). Even so it can not be called a severe blow, seeing that before the long suckling period is over, the child is already walking and forms part of a group of toddlers, who give him his first lessons in independence.

Speech-training is now intensified and his mistakes are no longer a matter to be laughed at. Through it he is further introduced to their kinship system and terminology. By now he is expected to know the terms for (1) father, (2) mother, (3) father's sister, (4) father's elder brother, (5) father's younger brother, (6) mother's brother, (7) mother's elder sister, (8) mother's younger sister, (9) father's father, (10) father's mother, (11) mother's father, (12) mother's mother ; also the terms for siblings (half-siblings and ortho-siblings), and cousins (parallel and cross-cousins). The first twelve may be represented diagrammatically as follows :



Key: △ = Males. ○ = Females.

He learns that every man of his father's generation is his father, and every woman of his mother's generation is his mother, and is taught how to address them. Among pagans he learns that all girls are his inferiors irrespective of their ages. Therefore he does not need to accord them any respect. Christians on the other hand insist that he should regard all girls of the elder sister's generation as elder sisters and to respect them accordingly ; to regard all girls of the younger sister's generation as younger sisters and to offer them protection. It is hardly necessary to say something about his relation to other boys because they introduce their own code to him.

The group of boys just above his age now begin to make claims on him by controlling his activities. He cultivates interest in male occupations and is gradually introduced to the herding of young stock—calves and lambs. When the girls play at house-keeping, he is made to play the role of pater. As he advances in age, he is encouraged to shun the company of girls. Again he is threatened that if he associates with women and girls he will eventually be transformed into one of their sex.

Children everywhere are inquisitive creatures. They ask many questions, Pedi children are no exception to the rule. But when they ask these questions they are, more often than not, told deliberate untruths. For example, after the birth of another baby he asks : "Where does this baby come from ?", and the traditional answer is : "All babies come from a pool of water in the river." They believe that telling the child the truth in these matters may result in unhealthy experiments and a perverted sex life in future. In any case they are shy to tell him the truth. I believe that this view, and particularly this shyness, is quite common among other Bantu speaking tribes. Among Christians it accounts for their revolt when a suggestion is made that sex instruction should be one of the subjects in the school curriculum. Fantastic tales are told to them about the punishment of naughty children. When one of them is naughty he is warned that a certain hideous and monstrous beast called "*Nono*" will come and swallow him up.

From the time when he begins to understand, the Pedi boy is taught the correct manner of sitting. He learns how to squat (*xo tsorama*) by the fire-side and its sub-variant (*xo hlaba thedi*). The advantage of both methods of squatting is that, in the first place the flap attached to the loin-strap hangs over his genital organs, and he is flattered with the belief that they are not being seen. Secondly, it is easier to jump up when one is squatting. The significance of this "jumping up" will be appreciated when one learns that Pedi boys are assumed to be naturally naughty, and that it is not uncommon for a man to thrash them just for the pleasure of doing so. It is also a relic of the past when boys were trained to be ever ready to escape from the enemy. He is not allowed to rest both hands on the head (*xo ithwala mexono*) for this is a sign of mourning, nor is he allowed to rest his head on his bended knees. Boys begin to be separated from girls. Differences in dress become marked, though the boy is virtually naked (*o a phothokxisa*). If the attitude of the adults towards him has been one of indulgence, it is replaced by one of firmness.

To understand the Pedi treatment of the boy, and their attitude towards his education and training, we must descend from the heights of our knowledge regarding the malleability of human nature and try to understand its underlying motives. They assume that a boy is naturally tough, aggressive and war-like ; a useless good-for-nothing sort of individual who is full of mischief. Only rough handling can turn him into a good citizen. Besides, man is destined to live a tough life, and therefore the boy must be hardened for it. Hence when it is cold, and the girls sit by the fireside, boys must play outside, if they are not running errands. They say in characteristic language : "*Ngwan'a mošimane o llêlwa tlala, xa a llelwe phefô*" (We sympathize with a hungry boy but not with one who suffers from cold). When it rains they are encouraged to remain outside "dancing the tune of come-rain-come" (*ba bina matlang-puleng*). Therefore one may say that, like the Spartans of old, they aimed at producing hardy individuals. We may further infer this from the fact that the Pedi father takes great pride in seeing his son fighting with other boys, particularly those bigger than himself. "He is as brave as a lion", he mutters, "and will make a good warrior and tribesman." If he is defeated by one of his age, he is thrashed very severely and forced to challenge him again.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION

In the past the Pedi were primarily pastoralists, and only secondarily cultivators of the soil. In the distant past herding was the work of men for obvious reasons. With the end of inter-tribal wars, men took to other occupations and herding became the work of boys. From early childhood Pedi boys are introduced to their livestock. First the boy is required to look after the calves that remain at home. If he allows them to mix with their mothers, he is not allowed to drink any milk that night, or is given a sound thrashing. Later on he is allowed to join the bigger boys who look after sheep and goats, as well as cattle. Someone carries some food for him or he is given a bigger share of the food they collect in the veld. They also milk some goats for him. At this stage herding is not compulsory, and he may remain at home just as he pleases. Very often when the bigger boys know that they are going to herd very far from home, they will discourage him from joining them. But as soon as they think he is big enough to become a regular herder, they will not allow him to remain at home for a single day. A boy who plays truant is called *lešolopudi*. There are several methods adopted against him. In the first place he is not allowed to drink any milk. In the second place, girls compose a song about him which says :

Ma-šia-xo-diša O nyêla xae.

A boy who plays truant relieves himself at home. He is bound to resent it, not only because it is sung by girls, but also because it insinuates that he is so stupid as to relieve himself in the presence of other people. The leader of the herdboys, when he returns home with the flock, gives him a sound thrashing. In addition, he orders that the truant should not taste of their quarry, nor be allowed to sit by the fireside with other boys. This social ostracism is made even more painful by the fact that the girls at home also drive him away from their fire. Should he persist in playing truant his father becomes concerned, and also gives him a sound thrashing. Other men may use a more subtle form of punishment against him : by arrangement, as soon as the cattle are out, *A* gives him a false message to *B*. *B* sends him to *C* with another ; *C* to *D*, *D* to *E* and so on, until he becomes tired. The relay is timed, so that he returns home after the arrival of the other boys with their flocks. Therefore, to add insult to injury, when he returns home quite fatigued, he is ridiculed for his stupidity.

The education of the boy now comes primarily from members of his age-grade, and the group just older than themselves disciplines them. It cannot be over emphasized that as an educational principle, this method is of immense value. Children learn more easily and more willingly from other children than from adults, and every boy knows that soon he will enjoy the privilege of authority over those younger than himself. This stimulates competition among the boys, which, although by all means not always healthy, helps them to acquire various skills generally. Herding becomes their main occupation. The young herder learns to identify the animals under his care by their colours, and gives them suitable names. Some cows he likes because of their beautiful colours ; others because of their lowing, build, grace in walking, ability to fight, or the quantity of milk they produce. Suitable praise-stanzas are composed for each according to its special qualification. Amongst the most common of these traditional names are : *Manalane* [1] (according to its colour), *Mathamaxane* (colour), *Mathšungwane* (colour), *Moxolodi* (because of its fine lowing), *Makadi* (because of its milk), etc. The following are specimen praise-stanzas:

1. *Manalane 'a Leputla,*
   Thaxa se-lla lehlakeng,
   Melodi e tšwa ka difata.

[1] *Manalane* = a red cow with a white colour below its belly. *Mathamaxane* = a cow with a colour which is a mixture of red, black and white. *Mathšungwane* = a red or black cow with a white colour on its forehead.

Manalane of Leputla,
The bird that sings among the reeds,
Sweet melody comes thro' the gap.

Note: Line 1 refers to its colour, and alludes to its owner ; lines 2 and 3 praise its beautiful lowing which is comparable with the beautiful music of a bird, singing among the reeds.

2. *Makadi se-budutšwana, se-kebyana;*
Ke kxomo ya letšô la ngwanana,
Ke kxomo ya boxadi bya mme.
Makadi the cow with mixed colours,
She is the cow paid as bride-price for the fair one,
She was part of my mother's bride-price.

Note: These lines are recited in praise of a milky cow. It is assumed that she was one of a herd that was paid to their kraal-head as bride-price for one of the girls.

3. *Maru a maso, Matêbêlê,*
Ke maru a phoroxotšwane 'a Makoro,
Ke maru a "O se nkukame,
O fele o ukama Matêbêlê."

Ndebele, black clouds,
'Tis the heavy cloud of Makoro,
The clouds that say : "Don't talk about me,
Talk about the Matebele."

Note: This cow gives so much milk that it has become the talk of the village. Lines 1 and 2 praise its black colour which is compared with the complexion of an Ndebele man whom the Pedi contemptuously regards as darker than himself. Lines 3 and 4 reprimand those who talk about it. They are entreated to talk about the Matebele, and not about the cow.

The bull of the herd (*pôô ya tšôna*) is also greatly favoured by the boys. Every generation of herdboys must learn how to tend it in order to make it a good bull and leader of the herd. They encourage it to gore at others, and just as the boys themselves fight constantly in order to harden themselves for the rough and tumble of adult life, it must also be encouraged to fight, so that in future it may defend the herd. Just as the ideal boy is the one who is aggressive, the ideal bull must also be aggressive. They are as much interested in its fights as were the Romans of old. When it wins a fight, they feel elated ; and when it loses, they are adversely affected. It is eulogized in several praise-stanzas, e.g. :

1. *Phithswa ya mamotibidi,*
Phithswa se-rakalla 'tšiboxong,
Moxohu wa 'naka la tsobidi.

Brown of dirty colours,
Brown that stands by the drift,
The big one with sharp horns.

2. *Moxôhlô 'a ditaba,*
Moxodiri ke wa dipholo,
Ke se-diko-diko sa'bo hlôxwana kxotho.

One that has many tales,
Strong is the leader of the herd,
'Tis the big one with a small head.

These recitals are encouraged because they form the basis of training the boys how to eulogize themselves during initiation.

A well-seasoned herdboy learns to distinguish the lowing of the cows in his herd, and the bellowing of the bull from others. He learns to trace straying cattle by following their spoor, stopping at intervals to listen to the lowing of the cows and the bellowing of the bull. He trains pack oxen and rides on their backs, using an improvised rope which he puts through the nostrils for reins (*moxala*). Cows that go out with their calves (*tše di amušang marôlê*) are milked into tins into which the juice of various kinds of acid fruits, such as *dithšidi* and *dithšudunthšu*, may be squeezed to cause curds, eaten by means of improvised spoons or the broad leaves of edible trees. On many occasions, however, they milk straight into their own mouths (*ba anyetša*, from *anya* which means to suck). This is a privilege usually enjoyed by the bigger boys, and, on certain occasions, only by the leader.

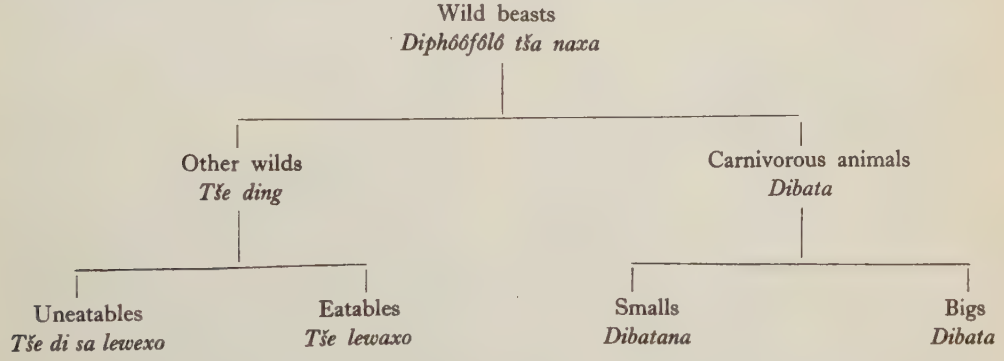
Herders give special attention to calving cows. Experience has taught the Pedi boy that after calving the young one may be too weak to follow

the herd or walk home, or the mother may be too hostile to allow them to carry it. Therefore it is desirable that the calving should, as far as possible, be near the kraal. So when the expectant mother begins to labour, some boys are detailed to drive her towards the kraal. When they arrive at home, they are given a warm reception by a group of girls excited over the prospect of getting more milk. Men praise them "as good herders", and the women give them additional food. The herdboys themselves are excited for quite a different reason. Traditionally they are entitled to use its milk so long as it thickens when heated. Secondly, they have the exclusive right over the after-birth (*mohlana*). It is put aside to dry, and is roasted or broiled later on. *Mašolopudi*, or non-herders, are altogether excluded. When cattle have strayed men usually beat the bigger boys, and caution the smaller ones. When the latter are also punished, their punishment is always lighter and graduated according to their relative ages. Whatever the case may be, their seniors usually punish them, thus suggesting that it was largely through their carelessness that the cattle strayed. As a matter of fact it is the smaller boys who really tend the flocks while their seniors hunt, play games, or smoke dagga. Men always warn them against making fire, saying : "Fire is the detainer of herdboys" (*Mollô ke kxoka-badiša*). Although boys like goat's milk, sheep and goats do not interest them as much as the cattle. In fact they are usually entrusted to the smaller boys.

Pedi herdboys also learn about cattle-diseases, and are instructed in the methods of their treatment. This treatment includes anti-dotes against snake-bites.

Veldcraft

Every herdboy is instructed in the flora and fauna of the district. He learns something about seasonal changes, and their general effect on the cattle. However, veldcraft is usually learnt through the institution of herding. They spend a good deal of time trapping birds, hares, bucks and antelopes, or hurling stones at lizards (*dipempenyane*). They are adepts at hitting birds and small animals with knob-kerries, and in their many hunting expeditions, they learn much that is useful about the habits of animals. On the basis of this knowledge, their classification of animals may be represented diagrammatically as follows :



The best known water-animals are frogs, crabs, fishes, and crocodiles. There are several legendary ones which, it is believed, no man has seen and survived. Boys are merely warned against them. From early infancy the Pedi boy is taught to regard all snakes as enemies that must be killed and buried whenever and wherever they are found. But it is when they are herding that they sometimes encounter big and dangerous snakes such as the python, puff-adder, and the black mamba. For their safety, they are warned in characteristic language that "*Nôxa xa e latellwe moleteng*" (A snake should not be followed right into its hole). In the course of time this expression

has come to be used in connection with people, where it means : If you want to fight someone, do not challenge him in his own house, because he may injure you."

It is customary for the Pedi to divide birds into two main categories, viz. domestic and wild. The wild are further subdivided into groups of eatables and uneatables, carnivorous, frugivorous, and grain-eaters. There are also special birds which are protected by law. For most herdboys, however, the most important bird is the honey-bird (*thsetlo*), which is generally credited with the intelligence of a man. Consequently it is believed that if it is offended, it will retaliate by leading the person to one of the most dangerous snakes in the district. Boys must, therefore, learn to understand its habits, to know what not to do to offend it. When they hear it singing, or "calling", as they say, they reply to it by whistling in a special way, and eulogize it by reciting suitable stanzas. Here is one of its praise stanzas:

Psh – Psh – Psh – Psh! (Whistled)
Thšungwana 'maxolo-xotswa-kotswana,
O mpitša o e-ya kae?
O se ke wa nwa byalwa o le mong 'a Lehlakô,
O tla šitwa ke ditaba,
Kotswane 'a moreko 'a tebele.

White-faced one of a strange head,
Whither calleth thee me ?
Never drink beer, ye master of the forest,
Lest you confuse yourself
And give judgment, bird of a strange head.

With this stanza, the Pedi boy implores the honey-bird to lead him to a bee-hive. He follows it from tree to tree, examining tree trunks, ant-hills and stones, in search of the hive. It is said that when one is straying away from the correct spot, the honey-bird makes a loud noise in order to check one. When one draws near the hive, it sings softly or stops altogether. The bee-hive having been found, the honey is taken out, and some put on a bush as a reward for the honey-bird. If it is a new hive, and there is yet no honey, it is marked in order to make others aware of a claim. To ignore a sign like this is a punishable crime.

Similarly Pedi boys have a wide knowledge of trees, and can distinguish edible trees from inedible ones. They learn about the quality and utility of the wood of various trees—which are hard and strong for providing sticks (*mapara*), and knob-kerries (*melamo*), and which soft and pliable, and can provide switches (*dikxati*); those useful for carving platters, e.g. *mothsêthsê*, and those used in basketry, e.g. *moretlwa* ; the kinds of trees that yield birdlime (*tepa*), and the kinds of bark that can be used for making string, e.g. *mokumô*, and those whose bark or roots are sweet, e.g. *mohlopi*. The making of string is further emphasized during initiation when some of the string is used for supporting the penis. In times of scarcity, many Pedi families subsist on the roots and bark of the *mohlopi* tree. Therefore it is important that every boy should be acquainted with it. When their flocks are grazing quietly, the boys do a lot of carving which gives them training in handicrafts. They make toys, weapons, tools and musical instruments. At the same time, they learn much about the medical properties of some leaves, shrubs, and roots, and can treat minor ailments quite independently. They also learn how to drill fire by using sticks, particularly those from a *moxaletlwa* tree. Drilling must be accompanied by the singing of a suitable tune, otherwise it is believed that the sticks will not co-operate. For example :

Psks – Psks – Psks – Psks ! (muttered)
Ka fêhla mollô,
Ke ya le kxwale xae.
I drilled the fire,
I shall carry the partridge home.

Although the boys generally say : "It is a tune for giving thanks to the sticks in anticipation", in olden days it must have been a ritual song because fire is a sacred thing among them.[1] They learn how to set snares and traps, and from their quarry they supply part of the meat used at home and in their miniature villages.

Veldcraft includes knowledge of different types of grass. Speical attention is paid to the type that

[1] For further elucidation on this point, read : EISELEN, W. "The Sacred fire of the Ba-Pedi of the Transvaal", *S. Afr. J. Science*, 26 (547–52) 1929.

is poisonous to livestock, called *moxau*. During the summer season, when the grass is tall, they use *modula* grass for weaving hats and arm, leg, and neck-bands. In olden days the latter featured much as tokens of love.

Various games, which are of great educational value, are played. Among the most common are : *tiya*, *diêbê*, *dinthsa*, *totonkišô*, and *dithaikôrôrô*. The first four are recognized as giving training in exactness of aim, and the last mentioned, as giving training in observation. Here follows an account of the last mentioned :

Every boy constructs a miniature kraal in which he places miscellaneous objects—pebbles, sticks, grass, stones of fruit, etc. These are called "cattle". Each one examines his cattle in order to make sure that he can identify them when they are in another's kraal. One of them closes his eyes, and his neighbour on the right side takes out one cow from his kraal which he places in his own kraal. When he opens his eyes he tries to identify it in his neighbour's kraal, and if he fails, he is called upon to close his eyes once more. Another cow is taken, and he must try and identify it when he opens his eyes again. If he succeeds this time, his neighbour on the right hand side closes his eyes, and the same thing is done. The game continues until one of them empties their kraals into his own.

Like many other Bantu boys, Pedi herdboys have their own standards, not always in accord with that of the rest of society. They steal eggs, fowls, green mealies, sugar-canes, water-melons ; in fact, they do not respect other people's properties. Stealing is a recognized institution among them, and young herders are taught how to steal without being discovered. However, when discovered they are beaten very severly. It is because of the severe punishment that the youngsters must be instructed in the best methods of stealing with the least risk of being discovered. It is also a rule among them that if one of them is discovered, he should not reveal the others. This rule is later emphasized during initiation. It should explain why, whenever a Pedi youth is arrested in town, he generally refuses to reveal those who co-operated with him in committing the crime, even when third degree methods are used against him by the police. Among the Pedi themselves, it partially explains why, when one of them has been caught, all are punished without any further inquiry. Mealie-cobs and water-melons are tied round their legs, while sweet sorghums are held up together with their sticks, as if they were useless stalks. After disposing of them, anything that remains behind is buried in the ground, so as to remove all traces of suspicion. When they steal, they say : "*Nonyana e sa ithselleng e bôla sekhwijana*" (A bird that does not look for food will have a rotten gizzard ; i.e. it will starve itself to death). Consequently, it has come to be accepted as a matter of fact that "all herdboys are thieves". This applies even to boys who are not herding. Besides they are held collectively responsible for the misdeeds of individual members of the group. If one of them commits a crime, the view is taken that members of the group have in effect failed to discipline him. Therefore all must suffer the consequences. This idea is further given expression in their saying : "*Pudi ya ja leotša e fetetša tše ding*" (A goat that has eaten corn infects the whole flock). In its literal sense it means if few goats stray into a man's garden, it is not necessary to pick them out of the flock when accusing their owner. Modern Pedi school masters use this idea as the basis of enforcing discipline in the village schools.

Cultivation

Now that the Pedi depend largely on the produce of the land, cultivation occupies a place in their culture quite out of proportion to the place it occupied in the past, when they were primarily pastoralists. Then the cultivation of the soil was a women's occupation, and the men had little or nothing to do with it. In the first place, a boy must learn to distinguish cultivated lands (*mašimo*) from uncultivated ones (*lehwiti*) ; also land that is lying fallow (*molala*), and other lands (*hlaxa*). He learns to distinguish rich soils from poorer ones, using the criteria of colour, texture, and growth. Thus he learns that black soil (*selô-kwa*) is rich, and most productive when rains are

abundant. That mealies, kaffir corn, sweet-sorghums, melons and pumpkins thrive very well on this soil. That millet and kaffir corn have better chances of survival in arid areas than do mealies in the same area, "because they have longer roots". They also learn that virgin soil is more productive than exhausted soils. They participate in the ploughing of the lands by driving the team (*ba ôtlêla*) or leading them in front (*swara teu*). Bigger and stronger boys also handle the plough. When there are sufficient men to do the work of ploughing, the boys are relegated to the position of herding the oxen during intervals. Nowadays, with the system of migratory labour, ploughing has become more and more the occupation of boys. The result inevitably is a lower production. Now that even boys sell their labour on European farms and in the towns, this work is done by women and girls ; hence production is at its lowest.

With the introduction of wheat, the boys learned a new way of cultivation—ploughing, harrowing, and irrigating ; also a new method of threshing, using the threshing machine. As a result, boys do not participate in the weeding (*xo hlaxola*) and reaping (*xo buna*), though they do assist in transporting the harvest home.

Special occupations

Up to now we have considered the type of practical training that may be called general education. There are few specialist occupations, such as woodwork, kaross- and leather-making, grass-weaving, smithing, magic and medicine. This does not mean that none but the specialists engage in them. Many Pedi men and boys have a fair working knowledge in some of them. But for better results or general utility, they rely on the work of specialists. Woodworkers make twirling sticks (*mafêhlô*), stirring sticks (*mahuduô*), spoons (*mahô*), bowls (*mexopo*), pails (*mexo-tswana*), gates (*diferô*), etc. ; kaross- and leather-makers manufacture loin-skins (*makxeswa*), milk-bags (*makuka*), blankets (*mexaŝwa*), and various forms of traditional dress. Grass-weavers make baskets of various shades and sizes, some of which are used for storing grain (*dišexo*). Now, although boys often play at these occupations, thus acquiring elementary knowledge of them, only sons of specialists and apprentices receive training in them. Smiths are altogether extinct, due possibly to the impact of western civilization, which must have put them out of the field of competition. I mention them here because in the past they were a recognized professional class whose profession was jealously guarded.

Cutting across the business of training specialists is the Pedi belief that a specialist is born, and not made. Therefore, although men take pains to train their sons, the fundamental idea is merely to give them a chance "because a boy who is not meant to be a specialist will not benefit from such training". Thus in the field of magic and medicine, it often becomes necessary for a diviner to be consulted ere training begins. I may point out that this assumption, which is based on the theory of predestination, is one that may account for the lack of the initiative among many Pedi youths. Whenever a Pedi youth encounters difficulties or obstacles in any profession, or occupation, and in fact in any situation in life, he finds a means of escape by saying : "It is not meant for me."

Dancing and instrumental music

Dancing and music seem to be in the very nature of the Pedi no less than they are in other Bantu peoples. On the mother's lap, the Pedi boy listens to vocal music from his mother, and instrumental music from his elder sister. He responds by making forward and backward movements. Nurses croon and dance to the accompaniment of *dipela* and *lekope* for the greater part of the day. So the Pedi boy grows up in an atmosphere of music and dancing. Whilst herding he learns to blow *lengwane*, a bone instrument, and to play various tunes on stringed instruments like *kwadi*, *sekxapa*, and *botsorwane*. Music is not appreciated solely for its aesthetics, but also because it brings honour and prestige upon the individual. A boy who sings and dances well is loved by the girls, and admired by his comrades. Keen competition is aroused, and every boy tries to excel his neighbour. Perhaps

what is more important from the educational point of view, is the fact that the song is also used to express emotion, redress complaints, correct social evils, and deter others. For example, it is generally agreed that girls are treated better than boys. To express their reaction against this apparent favouritism, boys sing the following tune to the accompaniment of the *kwadi* instrument :

Modiš'a kxomo xa ke ratwe,
Xo ratêxa moleti'a thaxa
Se-ya le pitša mašemong.

One who looks after cattle is not liked,
'Tis the bird-chaser who is favoured,
And lives in the midst of plenty.

Girls understand the meaning of this song, and feel insulted. Besides, song and ritual play an important role in the training of boys during initiation. As the boys manufacture their own instruments, using material offered by the environment, it is also training in handicrafts. Lastly, dancing is a healthy form of exercise for them. Most dancing and singing takes place on moonlight nights, lasting at times until late. They tire themselves out so that when they retire, they enjoy a sound sleep.

Training in values

Modern anthropological research has shown that at every level of culture there exists a moral code[1] which is expressed in the ideal behaviour of individuals in the community ; that is, a behaviour which is "correct" according to the people's ideas praised by them in speech. Now, I would like to deal very briefly with the values expressed in Pedi society, and the way they are impressed upon the individual. Some of these values are : generosity and unselfishness, respect for elders, obedience to authority, courage, endurance and manhood—by which I mean having the powers and character of a full-grown man. These values and attitudes are so inextricably bound up with life in the society that instead of being taught by formal training, they are adopted unconsciously through the individual's participation in social life.

In the Pedi scheme of things, censure and praise are important as methods of inculcating good manners. When a girl comes in carrying a pitcher of water, a bundle of wood, or a bowl of porridge, they praise her saying : "*Axe ngwan'a kete.*" When a herdboy drives his cattle gently into the cattle-pen, or brings a basket of wild fruit home, a squirrel or a hare, they praise him saying : "*Axe ngwan'a kete.*" But, if a child does not accept a gift with both hands, he is told to do so with some remark calculated to rebuke him. The Pedi boy is encouraged to dispose of his meal as soon as possible as they say : "*Monna o ja a eme ka dinaô*" (A man eats while standing ; i.e. a man must always be ready for action even during meal time.) This maxim must have been very useful in the days of inter-tribal wars. A boy who takes time to finish his meal is rebuked with the words : "*O jêla ka nkong*" (You swallow through your nostrils). Again among the Pedi it is considered bad manners for one to smack one's lips. Asking for a second helping is also considered bad table manners. It is the duty of the mother to see that all children are well fed. To ask for some more is to suggest that she is not mindful of her duties. The Pedi also teach their children to ask (*kxopêla*), and not to steal. Asking, in this case, is not limited to food, but to other things, e.g. asking for help. This idea is further conveyed in the expression : "*Ngwan'a sa lleng o hwêla tharing*" (A child that does not cry will perish in the cradle). There can be no doubt that this expression derives meaning from their notion that when a baby cries, it expresses a need.

Children are further taught the value of sharing food. "*Dijô ke 'thšila ya mênô*" (Food is nothing but the dirt that covers your teeth). So if any one approaches while you eat, invite him to join you by saying : "We are eating." Either he will then join the member of the family who is of his age, or sex, or he will decline by saying that he has just had a full meal. Members of the family would be offended if his answer was a categorical

[1] I use the term *moral code* here to mean the expression of values and their inculcation.

"no" (*nnang*), for such an answer would imply that one is afraid of food-poisoning. It is therefore, an insinuation to the effect that the host is a sorcerer. The value of sharing is further emphasized in the expression : "*Bana ba motho ba kxaoxana 'otwana la tšie*" (A man's children share even a locust's leg). Hence Pedi children are wont to share tit-bits with all their companions. In order to emphasize respect for elders, food is always given to the oldest and it is his duty to divide it equally among those younger than himself. Sometimes food is deliberately given to a younger child with the injunction to give it to the elder one to be divided among them. This idea of sharing is applied to other things—clothes, money, estates, etc. In its extended meaning, it further means "blood is thicker than water". At the same time is emphasized generosity, unselfishness, and ability to live in peace with others. When children fight or quarrel, both of them are punished without any further inquiry, so as to discourage them altogether from indulging in such undesirable practices. Traditionally, every adult person is expected to punish any child he finds doing something wrong. But with the ever-growing spirit of individualism that is manifesting itself in many ways, this useful method of enforcing discipline is being discredited. Parents incline to take sides whenever they find their children quarrelling or fighting, and instead of the trouble being stopped then and there, it often develops into a vendetta in which the assailants are parents, and not children. The result is a general lack of discipline, and the growth of undesirable social attitudes.

Fear of black magic is a contributary cause. It is believed that some children are "doctored", and the effect of their treatment is that if any one dares to touch them, his hand will become sore or "shrink" (*le tla hunyêla*). Besides, if one punishes another's child according to the old system, and the child later becomes sick, one will be accused of sorcery.

It is through the song and ritual, folk-tale and legend, that values are impressed upon the individual. Training begins at home where mother tells tales, and relates legends by the fire-side. She concludes each tale or legend by briefly stating its moral teaching. These folk-tales and legends are called *dinônwane*. To quote an example :

Solo	*Chorus*
Ti- ting- ting! Ka hlaxolêla leokana	*Ting!*
La re xo xola la nthlaba	*Ting!*
La nkiša Boroka tlase	*Ting!*
Xo le Modupe le Moswane	*Ting!*
Bana ba kxoši ka babedi	*Ting!*
Ba roka-roka mathebyana	*Ting!*
Ka re: 'Roka-rokang le mpheng	*Ting!*
Ke apeše bašimanyana	*Ting!*
Bašimanyana ba moraka	*Ting!*
Mpya e hwile xa-Mawêla	*Ting!*
Sebodu sa tlala naxa	*Ting!*

Ti-ting-ting! I weeded a small mimosa
And when it was big it pricked me,
It sent me to Thongaland in the lowveld,
Where there was Modupe and Moswane,
Both children of the chief,
Who were making karosses.
I entreated them to give me one
So that I might clothe the boys,
The boys at the cattle-post.
A dog died at Mawêla's place
And its smell pollutes the air.

Moral teaching

The above *nônwane* emphasizes the role of parents in the upbringing of their children and their misgivings and disappointment when the latter become bad citizens. They are like a mimosa tree. One may tend it, and look after it when it is still young and its thorns are tender. But, when it is grown, it does not spare one with its thorns.

Not only legends and folk-tales are narrated by the fire-side, but also myths of various types—myths of origin, death, magic ; myths connected with heavenly bodies and the forces of nature, and myths in which animals are personified. They nearly always begin with the phrase : "*Kxalê kxalê ba re . . .*" (Long, long ago . . .). I quote the myth of death :

"Long, long ago, people on earth lived very happily indeed for there were no diseases, and death was unknown. Not only was the life-span of a man longer than it is to-day, but when he became old, he could rejuvenate and become young again. Nevertheless, people began to ask questions of a metaphysical nature about life and death, and lived in fear of the shadow of death. Now God (*Huswane*), who can read man's mind, had compassion on them, and sent the chameleon to come down and inform man that he would die, but after some time, he would be resurrected. The lizard, having overheard the message, dashed down and passed the chameleon on the way chasing after flies. Arriving on earth before the chameleon, he distorted the message, and informed man that he was destined to die, never to be brought back to life again. Later in the day, the chameleon delivered his message : 'Man will die, but after a few days, he will be resurrected from the dead.' Man rebuked him, saying : 'The first message is the one that matters' (*Lentšu ke la pele, la moraxo xa se selô*). That is why to-day people die, and are never brought back to life."

This is not necessarily the only version in which this myth is presented, but we are not so much concerned with the text of narratives as with their sociological reference. The text, of course, is important, but without its sociological reference, it is practically lifeless.

In furthering this type of education, men teach courage and endurance through stories told of tribal heroes. This takes place by the fire-side at the men's place (*kxorong*). From actual narration or adult conversation, the boy also learns about tribal migrations, ethnic history, tribal lore, law and custom. In recognition of this type of training, they say : "*Ngwan'a mošimane o tšeya molaô kxorong*" (A boy receives his training at the men's place). Fecundity is also impressed upon his mind by praising and admiring the man with many children, and despising the impotent. The latter are referred to rather disparagingly in ordinary conversation, and treated in a special way when they die.

Part of the evening is spent in puzzling out riddles (*dithai*).[1] They test memory, and exercise the imaginative powers. One who cannot guess the right answer buys it with another. For example:

Thai : *Pôta ka mo ke pôtê ka mo re bolayê sebata.*
Phetolo : *Ke boxôbê.*
Guess: Let us throw a cordon round and slay a beast.
Answer: It means porridge.

Thai : *Ngwakwana o se nang mojakô.*
Phetolo : *Ke lee.*
Guess: A hut without a door.
Answer: It is an egg.

There is disagreement regarding the origin of the term *thai*. Phonetically, this word seems to be related to the Afrikaans term *raai*, meaning *to guess*. Therefore, these riddles were probably borrowed from early Dutch settlers.

The Pedi also teach that "procrastination is the thief of time". This is expressed in the following words : "*Tloxa-tloxa e tloxa kxalê, modiš'a kxomo o tšwa nayô 'šakeng*" (A good shepherd is the one who follows the flock right from the kraal). Applied in their educational system, it is a warning to the boys to the effect that they should not postpone learning on the ground that they are still too young to learn. This does not seem to be in consonance with the view stated earlier to the effect that boys are irresponsible, useless good-for-nothings to whom all teaching is fruitless ; and that it is only through the hard school of initiation that they are forced to change. It seems to me that the underlying factor is their belief that every individual is destined to play a certain role in life, and no amount of training can influence it. Notwithstanding we must appreciate the fact that training at the men's place is of immense importance to

[1] For a collection of these riddles see Dr. P. E. Schwellnus's *Padišô Series*, I–VI ; Berl. Miss Lit. Depot ; also G. Nakene, Tlôkwa Riddles", *Bantu Studies*, vol. 2, 1943.

the Pedi youth. It is, therefore, a matter to be regretted that to-day men no longer meet regularly at the men's place (*kxorong*) which was an invaluable forum in the old tribal life. The following may be cited as contributory causes : migratory labour, by removing all the able-bodied men from home, leaving the decrepits and invalids who find the courtyard more comfortable than the men's place ; the introduction of a new type of economy in which men no longer want to share their possessions ; and the ever-increasing belief in the use of black magic and witchcraft, which makes those who are at home to avoid meeting one another. (*To be continued*)

THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

will be held in the University of Rome early in September

The papers and discussions will cover the following subjects :

1. The social units
2. The village
3. The town
4. The village and the town
5. The methods of sociology
6. The social research institutes
7. The teaching of sociology
8. Sociology in the ancient world
9. The sociology of primitive peoples with special reference to the causes of the extinction of isolated groups
10. The neo-organismic theory
11. Economic pathology
12. Social metabolism
13. The contribution made by the several countries to inventions and discoveries
14. The development of technology and its influence on social organization
15. Public opinion
16. The State as a sociological concept
17. The plurality of juridical organs from the sociological standpoint
18. The evolution and involution of law
19. The sociology of criminality
20. Games from the sociological standpoint
21. The social reaction of the two world wars with special reference to the displacement of population
22. The future dynamism of the population and its importance from the sociological standpoint
23. The sociology of prisoner-of-war camps.

Those wishing to attend the Congress should write to Professor Corrado Gini, c/o the Società Italiana di Sociologia, Via delle Termo di Diocleziano, N. 10, Rome.

24th July, 1950

TWO ARABIC DOCUMENTS

Diyyâ s-Sultan and Tazyîn l-Waraqat

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

SYNOPSIS

The above two Arabic documents were purchased about 1944 from two Fulani mallams in the Bamenda Division of the British Cameroons. The first consists of sixty loose sheets, and the second of fifty-five loose sheets. These documents are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, and photostat copies at Ifan, Dakar.

Abdullâhi, the younger brother of Usman dan Fodio, the founder of Sokoto, is the author of both. I took down from these two mallams a translation of each document. These translations, owing to the difficulty of finding a suitable translator, are now printed.

The first document is a vade-mecum for rulers, and gives advice to rulers on administration. I give two extracts in illustration. "When a Lamido gives the order that horsemen are to go to this side or to that, it is of no use for them to ride just beyond the limits of the town, and then dismount: Such protective horsemen are to ride a whole day from sunrise before dismounting . . . The care of orphans and of their property is the duty of the Lamido . . ."

The second document purports to be a history of the Fulani from their origins to their exploits in the days of Usman dan Fodio. Most of the text is devoted to a cursory account of the events that led up to the Fulani Jihad more especially, Usman's early converting mission, conducted under the approval of King Bawa Jangojo of Njampara.

There is a brief description of Fulani origins, namely that they arose in Futa Torro, and also that they sprang from the union of the Arab mallam, Hukuba with Mbajamongo, daughter of the king of Rum. The account of these origins is confused.

INTRODUCTION

WHILE serving as an administrative officer for nearly ten years in the Bamenda Division of the British Cameroons, I kept an eye open for written documents, especially for those brought down from the north by Fulani mallams, and was lucky enough to secure two. Another document is a hand-written copy of the Bamum king, Njoya's history, laws and customs of his people. This copy is in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. An unpublished English translation is in my hands.

In 1943 I found a Fulani mallam, Alkali Bajɔga, who was living then in Ardo Sunda's camp near Ndu, the capital of the Wiya tribe, with a document whose title sounded to me as *Tajina Walkarte*. I persuaded this mallam to make me a hand-written copy of it for which I paid sixteen shillings. This document consisted of fifty-five loose sheets of paper.

At the beginning of 1944, I was on tour in the northern part of the Bamenda Division, and called on Mallam Tukuru who, coming from the Fulani town of Banyo in French territory, had recently formed a trading settlement some four miles from the American Baptist Mission station at Mbem. Here I met Mallam Nehu who produced a manuscript which he called *Lia!ul Suldani*, (Rules of guidance for a chief).

I asked Mallam Nehu to make me a copy of

this document ; I to provide pen, ink, and paper, and for the copy I would pay. He replied that the task was beyond his powers, but that I could have the document for eight shillings. I handed over this sum, and this document, like the previous one, is now lodged in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. It consisted of sixty-seven loose sheets of paper about eight by six inches, written on both sides. I reproduce four selected sheets, Plate I. This document I sent to a Roman Catholic Father in Northern Nigeria, but he was unable to translate it, nor was there any better success when it was sent to Dr. East of the Education Department of Northern Nigeria. Then in 1946 I sent these two manuscripts to Professor Monod at Dakar who replied in March, 1947, as follows :

"Tazyîn l-Waraqât bi jam 'i ba di mälî mina l-abyât (L'ornement des feuilles, par la réunion de quelques-uns de mes vers).—Auteur : Abdullah bni Muhammad bn Tmân, torodo du pays haoussa. L'auteur se dit compagnon et frère du Say*h* '*T*man bnu Fodyo, qu'il loue dans ses poèmes où il retrace leurs actions dans la guerre sainte. Ces poèmes ont été composés entre 1198–1213 (1783–98). L'ouvrage comporte un commentaire en prose qui donne beaucoup de détails sur le Ṣay*h* '*T*man, sa prédication, d'abord, puis la guerre qu'il a soutenue contre les souverains du pays haoussa.

"Diyyâ s-Sultân, wa gayrih mina l-ihwân (La lumière qui instruit le Sultan et les autres frères) par le même Abdullah. C'est une sorte d''institution royale' pour indiquer aux Sultans leurs devoirs. Il comporte quelques chapitres de prêches semblables à ceux qu'on rencontre dans les ouvrages similaires musulmans.

"Je connais moi-même trop mal les sources concernant le Sokoto pour pouvoir vous dire si ces documents sont inédits ou dans quelle mesure ils pourraient avoir été déjà traduits ou utilisés. Le premier seul d'ailleurs paraît avoir un intérêt historique : s'il apportait du nouveau par rapport à l'Infaku'l Maïsuri de Mohammed Bello, ce serait évidemment important.

"Je n'ai pas la possibilité immédiate de faire traduire les deux manuscrits, dont le premier seulement paraît d'ailleurs mériter de l'être."[1]

In the end Professor Monod kindly had photostat copies made of the two documents which he returned to me towards the end of 1949 together with a photostat copy of each.

I now dispatched the manuscripts to the Pitt-Rivers Museum with a request that someone be found who could and would translate them. The reply I have had from the curator runs as follows : "P.S. I've had no luck with your Arabic manuscript. Scholars say it's illiterate, and would want a couple of year's hard work and commentary if worth doing."[2] In view of this present impasse, I propose to publish the translations which I obtained while in the field. Thus, when I received this document from Mallam Nehu, I asked him to read it out in Fulani while the Government Fulani interpreter turned it into English which I then wrote down on 20. 4. 1944 at the American Baptist Mission station at Mbem. According to Nehu this document was written by Shehu Usmanu. Nehu was so garrulous that it was difficult to decide what was the text, what was Nehu's commentary, or amplification thereof. To check up on Nehu's garrulousness I tried to get other mallams to read it in Fulani, but was informed by them that, though they were versed in Arabic writing and literature, they found it almost impossible to read this document because, they said, it was written in some "deep language". It is thus quite possible that though the characters used are those of the Arabic script, the language may not be either Arabic or Fulani. Nehu's translation omitting the Shehu's prayers, runs as follows :

[1] Private letter to me.

[2] Private letter to me by Dr. T. K. Penniman.

DIYYA S-SULTAN

"Rules for the behaviour and conduct of a chief (Lamido). When some one addresses you as a chief, asking if you are the chief and you reply, 'I am the chief', then you are at once in the position of a cowboy in charge of cows.[1]

"A chief must control all his territory, and must be consulted on all matters that arise in his domain, whether these matters be good or evil.

"A chief should appoint one man as a Waziri and give him his own work to do.

"A chief appoints the Laminabe, (the village heads) as second to himself (i.e. as his immediate subordinates), and he gives them their own work to do, and he should instruct them to select in their villages important and influential men to assist in the management and control of the village.

"The Laminabe of distant and far-off villages must be appointed by the Lamido, and even though they are far off, yet they must readily obey the orders and instructions whenever sent by the Lamido. Any Laminabe who receives an order or instruction to do anything or to send anybody by a certain time or on a certain day must not fail to see that the Lamido's instructions are obeyed on time.

"When a Laminabe hears anything of importance, or anything good or bad happens within his jurisdiction, he is to send word to the Lamido immediately ; he is not to wait until he gets instructions from the Lamido to report.

"Every Laminabe is to appoint for his area an Alkali who will sift truth from falseness ; he is also to appoint a mallam who will make a census of every village and quarter under that Laminabe.

"It is the duty of the Lamido, not of the Laminabe, to make at the beginning of each day a prayer for non-transgression ; no one is to steal ; or to kill ; or to slander ; or to fight.

"I want to know the names of all the villages that are under my control. I also want to know about all the things in my own town (*wuro*) ; also all that happens in the villages of the Laminabe. I want to know about everything that happens in all the villages under my control. I want to know when anything evil happens under my control so that I may remedy it.[2]

"In my instructions to Laminabe to appoint an Alkali, each Laminabe must appoint someone[3] to help and assist the Alkali.[4] It is the duty of a Lamido to appoint guardians of the peace, and in my own *wuro* I have appointed men to see what good or bad things are done therein by day and by night. Anyone found doing wrong is to be brought before me. All Laminabe are to take note of how I administer my own *wuro*, and are to follow my example in their own towns.

"I, the Lamido, have searched out a pious Mallam who spends his time in prayer so that no evil or disaster may overtake my town. His sustenance and apparel are a charge against me. You, Laminabe, must do likewise, but you must be sure that the Mallam you choose is a pious and God-fearing man. Do not appoint just any Mallam, but one acquainted with God's ways.

"I, the Lamido, have such a Mallam whose days are devoted to prayer, his voice I hear and his advice I follow, and you, Laminabe, are to be similarly guided by your Mallams.

"The *nyautɔbe* (the physician: medico) will, after examining a sick person, declare the name

[1] i.e. master of the herd, nothing derogatory is meant ; the cowboy knows every cow and its history ; he has complete knowledge and control.

[2] Mallan Nehu then illustrated the sort of control that a Lamido exercises.

Thus if in building his *sare* (compound) *A* blocked the passage way of *B*, *B*'s remedy was to complain to the Lamido. Or if *A* placed a closet (*shalka*) in his compound so that it was just opposite *B*'s gateway, it was no use *B* remonstrating with *A*. No man other than the owner or the Lamido has control over what happens inside a man's own *sare:* hence the need to complain to the Lamido who has the authority to open the blocked passage way or to have the *shalka* moved to another part of the *sare*.

[3] This assistant is called in Fulfulbe, *kingayami*—messenger or court herald—a mufti or scribe is called a *yametedo* in Fulfulbe. Such a person not only records the case but searches through the following books for authorities and precedents in the case being tried : *Alkoran ; Ul Hukami ; Tufa Tul Hukami ; Muyal Sari ; Ngaza Liu ; Ria Usial Sati ; Risala.*

[4] or *kitowɔ* as he is called in Fulfulbe.

of the sickness with which the patient is afflicted. It is the duty of the *nyautɔbe* to cure the sick. The *nyautɔbe* has different kinds of medicines, some to drink, some to rub on, some to wash in.

"The first principle that a Lamido must observe is to learn to fear the unknown, to beware the unforeseen. Thus, even if a beggar comes to you and reports a bit of news, do not disregard it, but consider it. If a blind man reports news to you, do not disregard it, but ponder over it. If a cripple crawls to you on his hands, and brings you news, do not disregard it, but bear it in mind.

"If by the wayside you should meet any such person, and he says he wishes to speak to you, halt and cause such an one to draw nigh to you. Such a person may bring you the first warning of a rising, rebellion or a war. You can now get ready at once by sending your *labɔjɔ* (military commander) with mounted men to this side or to that. So that not only his own kith and kin but also the *wɔdade* (common people) may be protected thereby.

"When the Lamido gives the order that horsemen are to go to this side or to that, it is of no use for them to ride just beyond the limits of the town and then dismount. Such protective horsemen are to ride a whole day from sunrise before dismounting.

"When I, the Lamido, give an order, it is to be carried out faithfully and expeditiously, as though God has his eye upon you all the time. When I, the Lamido, give an order that all men are to go to war, let no man pause and consider reasons for remaining behind. When I give the order to fight, all must fight. When I send to my Laminabe the order to fight they must obey ; they and all their followers. There must be no excuses for this one and that one remaining behind and staying in his compound. All are to obey these orders ; all must dash forward to attack those who are making war on me. There must be no holding back among my soldiers.

"You, as Lamido, if you confine yourself to your compound, you will fail to become aware of what is happening in your domain, and presently you will lose it. It will break up, and another will come and take control of it.

"People on one side want to attack you; people on the other side want to attack you ; and if you just ride down in your compound between the two you will not discover this hostility till it is too late to prepare against it.

"Whenever you, the Lamido, have occasion to meet people always wear your sword (*kafaki*). Do not meet them in tears. Crying is no part of a Lamido's duty.

"Delay, procrastination, dilatoriness (*koŋgɔmakɔ*) in going to war is of no use or help whatever to a Lamido.

"Let no man harbour base or unfounded fears ; let us see such things happen before any of us show signs of fear. Do not show signs of fear without a reason and then face the fear and do something. The Lamido must tell his Laminabe that if they are faced with war, to run away is no part of their duties ; they are to stand firm ; secondly no Laminabe may go out, and make terms with the invaders.

"Our world is the creation of God. He owns you, and has created you as important people ; do not, therefore, negotiate with the enemy, and thus render yourselves subject to them.

"Whatever thing is true and of good repute, and you press forward to accomplish it, remember that I am behind you. Do not think that God is absent from your endeavours. Remember that He is with you always, and do not say God is not with me when I do this or that. God owns you, and is with you always.

"Cowardice that obsesses some people has its origin in food. These people eat fear with their food. Cowardice arises from three sources : from your food, from your drink, and from your bed.

"The reason I mention your bed, your food, your drink, is that no one with whom you are in disagreement should be allowed anywhere near you at such times as you eat, or drink, or sleep, for should they at any time be allowed access to your food, or drink, or bed, they may introduce magic to them, whereby fear arises in you.

"Those who are given access to these three things, should be only those with whom you are in whole and hearty accord.

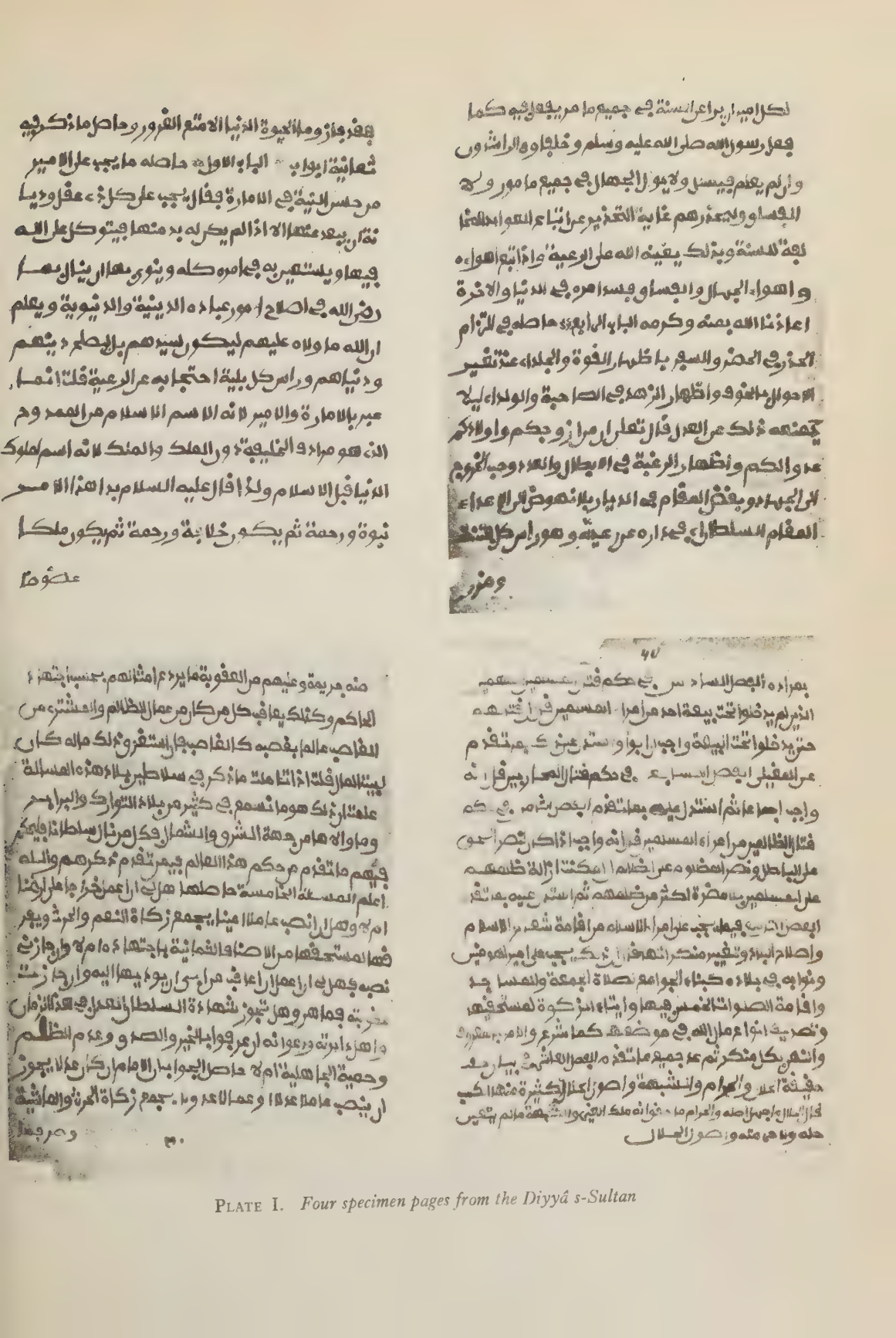


PLATE I. *Four specimen pages from the Diyyâ s-Sultan*

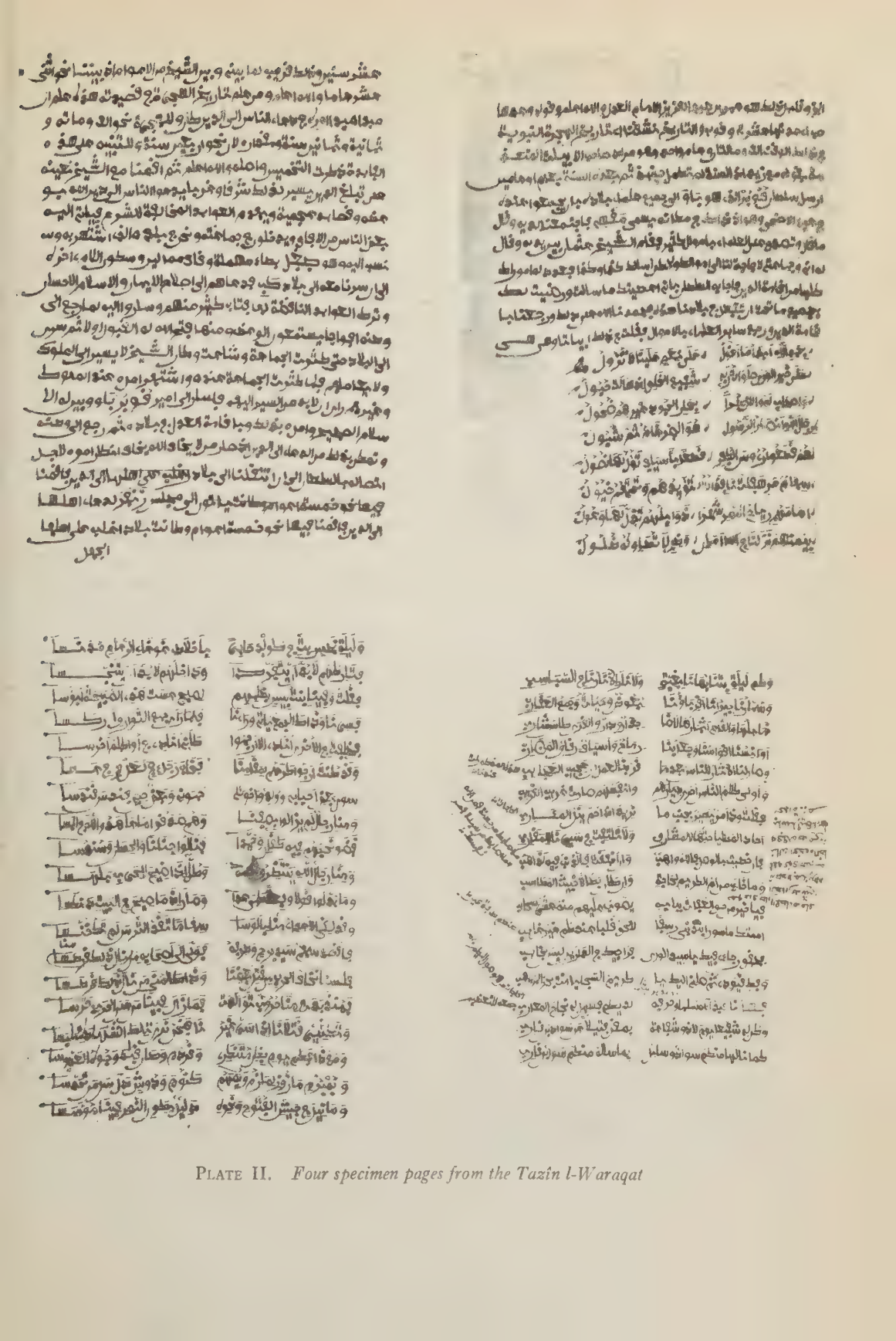


PLATE II. *Four specimen pages from the Tazin l-Waraqat*

"When you, the Lamido, give audience at the Fada (F.) (Magiltesa. A.) you must observe two rules. You must have near you your sword, gun, spear, and bow and arrows. Secondly, let no one come nigh to you. All must remain at least a spear's length from you.

"Those who are faithful, on whom you can rely or trust, who hearing your words will bear them in mind and immediately carry out your orders, these have nearest to you. Those who are brave and fearless in war, who are good horsemen and good fighters, let them sit near you.

"When a Lamido is ready to advance against an invader, let him tell no man in his town the route by which the attack is to be made. When you proceed to the attack all who follow, must follow without knowing the rendez-vous of the battle—only when the actual fighting begins, will they know the place of battle. If you tell even one man about the time and the route of battle, you will find that during the night a message will reach the enemy saying : 'My Lamido will attack you to-morrow.'

"Any leader who says to you, 'Well, we are all ready for the fray, where is it that we meet the enemy ?' Do not tell him ; give him no answer, until you have reached your rendez-vous. Then you can say, 'It is here that the battle begins.' If you divulge beforehand your plans, a traitor will go to your enemies and say, 'My Lamido will attack on such and such a day, and from such and such a direction.'

"When a number of cunning and crafty people, even though they number seventy men,[1] offer you advice, pay no heed to it. If they offer you gifts or presents to heed their advice, do not accept these gifts or presents.

"The Lamido, when he returns, is as a cowboy to his cows. The prisoners[2] are the concern of the Lamido only. He provides them with food and drink, and sees to it when and where they work. The Lamido must also know what the head-warder (*durɔbe*) does with the prisoners ; that he does not take them out at night to do wrong or to kill people, and then report that that person has just died. Such are the duties of a Lamido.

"The care of orphans and of their property is the duty of the Lamido. When a man dies and leaves property, it is the duty of the Lamido to find out who is the proper successor. If a man dies without an inheritor the Lamido takes charge of the property and brings up the matter each year."

I now give the translation of *Tazyîn l-Waraquât*. Plate II shows four selected pages.

THE DEPTER WALKARTE ORIGIN STORY

The following account was read to me from an Arabic MS., by Mallam Adamu of Gombe, Bomɔŋkejɔ, of Mallankejɔ (i.e. from Malle), assisted by the Sarikin Hausa, of Abakpa Bamenda, while office messenger, Haman, translated, and purports to describe the origin of the Fulani and of their language.

"I am Abdullahi, writer of this book, and son of Mohamadu, son of Usumanu, the three of us came from the country called Tɔbɔ Diyu. Nasaban is the name of our tribe. We journeyed to Ghaliman, a village in the land of Baladan in the tribe of Wiyu. I, Abdullahi, am now ready to write this book. I follow my Mallam. I greet all my Mallams. I thank and bless them all. I thank them for all the blessing Allah has bestowed upon them.

"I am from Hijera. After Hijera I waged many wars. Of all these things there is no record, and no Mallam knows of them. I therefore write them down, so that Mallams may know all these things. I write this book as a history, so that people may know of the things that have happened and which are not in other books.

"I write of things from the beginning up to now. I write it as a guide for people to see how to conduct themselves in the future. I write this

[1] A magical number.

[2] *Kurkutu*, whether of war or from the courts.

book as a guide so that people may profitably read it, and be guided how to act and behave, knowing how we behaved and acted in times past.

"The name of the book is :

TAJAYENU WELKARTE

"I, Abdullahi, am a younger brother of Shehu Usumanu. This book is the story of the Arabs, and what they have done. Guidance in judging cases is also in here. When I am absent or dead, guidance on what to do will be found in this book.

"Malaŋkoen, Gɔbiruwa and many other words are in this book. How I have instructed previous Mallams will be found herein. How Mallams are to be greeted, how brothers greet brothers, is here written down. How to conduct yourself when going to condole with a family where a death has occurred, is found in here, and also how to show grief correctly. How to rejoice and show gladness at being a Mohammedan is also in here. All the instruction that I have given in my lifetime is recorded in this book. This book is the source Book of other guides of instruction. What is in them is also in this book, e.g. :

The *Anabijɔ̃ Mohammedu* (The rejoicings [songs of praise] made to Mohammed).

The *Mantare Mohammedu* (The greetings made to Mohammed).

I, Abdullahi, wrote this book, not when I was a child and knew only childish things, but when I was full grown and knew wisdom. I wrote first in Arabic, and then I wrote in Ajami. [1]

"When one is a child in school with a cough, one coughs it up before one feels better, so when a man is grown up what comes into his mind is brought out before the mind feels rest and calm.

"I have heard Safi tell me this story of the cough and of the way to calm a troubled mind, by getting up and writing it down, and so I have done. From the Hijera of Mohamadu is ten years later ; from Shehu Abdullahi to Shehu Usumanu is ten years. Any one who knows the Hijera of Mohamadu and reads this book will know the years alluded to, when Shehu Usumanu and Shehu Abdullahi went forth to all mankind to convert them to Islam.

"This book was written 1188 years after Mohammed's death. Shehu Abdullahi was his second. Abdullahi was exhorted by Usumanu to write this book, and encouraged to do so. These two men wished to convert the whole world to Islam. The father of these two Shehu was Alihu, their mother Hawau. Her father was Usumanu, son of Hama, son of Ali. They went Funangi [2] (East) and Hirnangi [2] (West) and Formbina (South) and Waila (North). [2] They visited all villages to convert the people to Islam. They showed the villages what was bad and what was good : what was contrary to Islam and what conformed with Islam.

"People from all the four cardinal points came to learn from what was in this book. The two Shehu were then in a land called Delgel, and they visited the town of Kabi. There they called the people together and told them that their customs were bad, were not as laid down by Mohammed, and they told the people what to do to become Mohammedans and what not to do.

"Great crowds came to hear the two Shehu. The two Shehu had not yet reached the city where the King of Kabi lived. He lived at Gobirr. When the two Shehu saw the crowds coming to hear them, they decided to visit the Kabi King at Gobirr.

"They went to him, and his name was Bɔjam Ŋgɔrjɔ. This Lamido was told by the two that they were on a proselytizing mission. They told him to think over their words of instruction. The two then returned to Delgel.

"From Delgel they went to Njampara where crowds came to be converted (*diena*) to Islam, and to forsake the old pagan practices. The two remained at Njampara five years giving instruction. At the start no Njampara were followers of Mohammed. The men and women here were not separated into two groups, one of men and the other of women. Shehu Mutarr sent word to Shehu Usumanu asking why he did not separate the sexes. This was at Daura village in Njamparra

[1] Ajami. Any writing (even in Arabic characters) not in the Arabic language. (Here probably Hausa.) BARGERY, G. P. *A Hausa-English and English-Hausa Dictionary*. (London : 1934.) [2] Nangi = Sun.

land. Shehu Usumanu said that until the people knew the principles of Islam he did not separate the sexes but that when they became converts, he separated them.

"One man, Umaru, son of Abdul Ajiji, was an important Mallam in Njampara, and he joined the two in the year 1201. Two years later Bawa Jaŋgojo sent word to the two Shehu saying that they were the only Mallams approved by him. This occurred at *laiha* time (Hausa Christmas), and the message was received at Magami. Bawa Jaŋgojo then offered large presents to the two Shehu whereupon Usumanu stood up before Bawa Jaŋgojo and said, 'I and all my converts do not want your presents. Only one favour do I want from you. I want your help to convert all your people to Islam. I do not want wordly goods, I want converts.'

"Bawa Jaŋgojo then agreed to assist, and said to the Shehu, 'Anything that you have in your mind do it. You have complete freedom in my kingdom to do as you like.' Shehu Usumanu replied, 'I thank Allah! I thank Mohammed! I thank you, Bawa Jaŋgojo for giving me this power.' Many Mallam were present at this meeting. Bawa Jaŋgojo gave his presents to these Mallams, and they shared them among themselves, and rejoiced. The two Shehu refused to take any share of the presents, saying that their only work was to proselytize.

"These two Shehu rejoiced at the power given them, and said they wished to go and greet Shehu Ubirila their master and tutor. Shehu Ubirila was the son of Usumanu. They did so, and then returned to De!gel. Ubirila had just returned from Mekka and Egypt, and they met him at Go!di village. Abdullahi then went back to Ubirila to be taught what was in the book called Suyudu!di. In this book he learnt of the titles of many other books.

"Abdullahi then returned to De!gel but could not find Shehu Usumanu who had gone to Mallam Hajji, son of Mohamadu Raji. Usumanu asked to be instructed in the book called Bo!hari. Abdullahi then followed Usumanu. This was in the year 1201. Then they learnt that Ubirila had moved from Go!di to Majji village.

[*Here part of the Deptere was skipped. M.J.*]

They went to Majji and then returned to Njampara. On their return they found that most of their converts had reverted to their old customs.

"Shehu Usumanu was so disgusted that he returned to De!gel. The two Shehu then went to the big water (river) called Kwaro.[1] They crossed it, and went to the village of Illo, then to Zumma with other Mallams following them. They went to the local chief at Juggu. There all the people agreed to be converted to Islam.

"The two Shehu heard that their maternal uncle, Mohamadu Sambo, son of Abdullahi, son of Mohamadu, son of Sa!du, had returned from Egypt and they were rejoiced because he was a great Mallam and knew more than any other Mallam. Later they heard that he had died at Agadir and they never saw him. All were cast down by this sad news. The ancestor of this family was one Ali Ali.

"The two Shehu called on all Mallams and converts to go into mourning over the death of Sambo.

"Ali Ali came from Futa Torro,[2] and it is written that all the Fulbe came from Futa Torro.[2] The two Shehu and all their family spoke Fulbe ; it was their mother tongue.

"One man, Hukuba, son of Amirun, was a warrior and a man who made many wars. Umaru, son of Assi was ruler in Egypt at the time that Amirun was waging wars. Hukuba wandered about and stayed with a people called Rum.[3] Hukuba was a Mallam. The Rum chief said he wanted to be converted and asked Hukuba to instruct him. Hukuba did so until the Rum chief was a true convert. The Rum chief then gave his daughter Mbajamoŋgo in marriage to Hukuba and all the Fulbe derived from the marriage of Hukuba with Mbajamoŋgo. Hukuba was an

[1] The Niger. [2] This Place is in Senegambia.

[3] The local name for Byzantium. "Rum, an indefinite term in use among Mohammedans at different dates for Europeans generally and for the Byzantine empire in particular." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed. Vol. 19, p. 635.

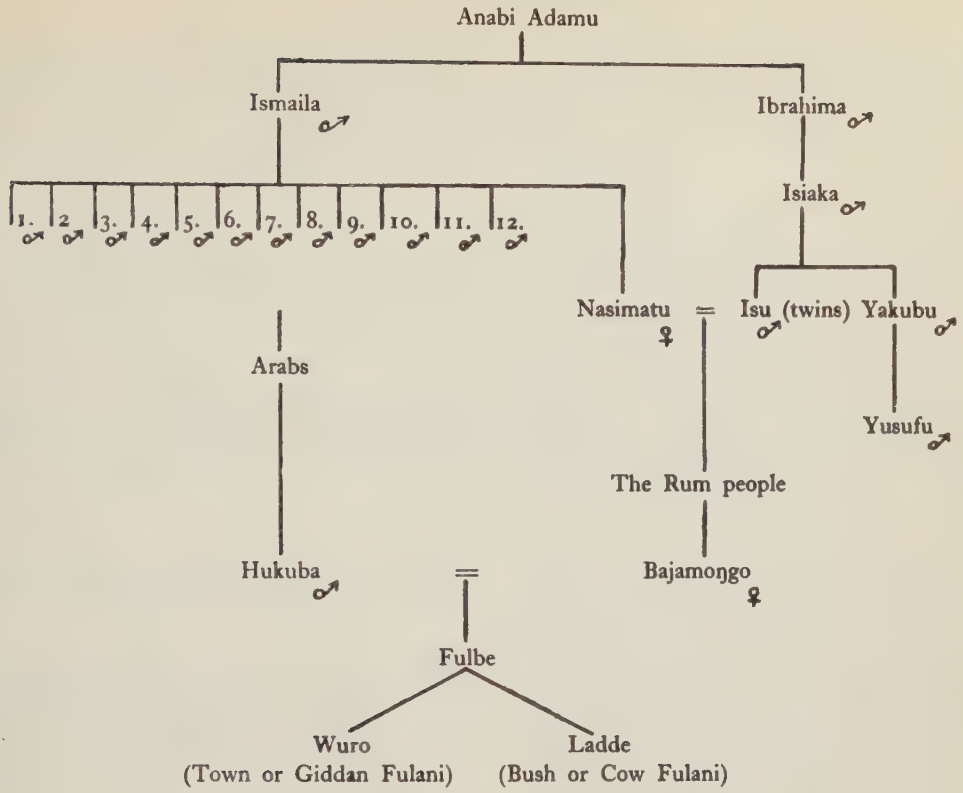
Arab and spoke Arabic. Mbajamoŋgo did not speak Arabic but Rum which is quite different from Arabic. It was at Rum, however, that the Fulbe language started. Hukuba did not speak Fulbe but only Arabic. It was Mbajamoŋgo's children who spoke Fulbe. They learnt it from her and not from Hukuba.

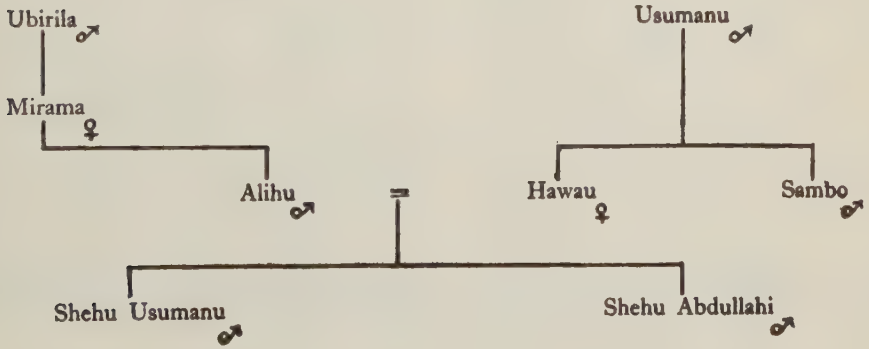
"This Fulfulbe was spoken first by Anabi Adamu [Adam], the first man, made by God. Many people do not use Fulfulbe because it originated with a woman.

"Any one in Rum is a descendant of Isu. Isu and Nabi Yagubu [Esau and Jacob] were twins. Isu was the son of Isiaka [Isaac]. Isiaka was the son of Anabi Ibrahima. Isu's mother was Nasimatu. She was the daughter of Usumaila. He had twelve sons and one daughter, in all, thirteen children. These twelve sons were the ancestors of the Arabs. Isiaka when dying told Usumaila to take his little daughter, Nasimatu, and give her to Isu in marriage. These two then produced the Rum people.[1] The Rum are not a black people nor are they a proper red people (*Ranebe*). The Rum are Fulbe Lade, and Isu is their father."

Here ended the translation, and the following genealogical table was then compiled.

[1] This mallam reading the text stated that the Bororo also came from Rum. The Arabic name for Rum is Asperi.


Anabi Adamu
Ismaila ♂
Ibrahima ♂
1. ♂ 2. ♂ 3. ♂ 4. ♂ 5. ♂ 6. ♂ 7. ♂ 8. ♂ 9. ♂ 10. ♂ 11. ♂ 12. ♂
Isiaka ♂
Nasimatu ♀ = Isu ♂ (twins) Yakubu ♂
Arabs
Yusufu ♂
The Rum people
Hukuba ♂ = Bajamongo ♀
Fulbe
Wuro
(Town or Giddan Fulani)
Ladde
(Bush or Cow Fulani)


Ubirila ♂
Usumanu ♂
Mirama ♀
Alihu ♂ =
Hawau ♀
Sambo ♂
Shehu Usumanu ♂
Shehu Abdullahi ♂

"TO BE" AND "TO HAVE" IN SHONA

G. FORTUNE, S. J.

SYNOPSIS

The formative na– *in Shona is not limited to the formation of conjunctive adverbials and the personal copulatives formed from these. Evidence from Shona and other languages shows that* na, *while functioning as a conjunctive formative, may also function as a copulative verb, copulative forms with* na *in Shona corresponding to forms with* –li *elsewhere.*

Further comparative evidence shows the copulative verb –li *discharging conjunctive functions similar to those discharged by* na– *in Shona, in addition to its functions as a copulative verb.*

This affinity between copulative verb and conjunctive formative is a striking example of a two-way fluidity of function and may explain why, in Sotho, na *should be both copulative verb and conjunctive formative,* le *both conjunctive formative and copulative verb.*

"In most European grammars, the first thing to be learned is the conjugation of the verbs 'to have' and 'to be'. In Bantu, there is no verb 'to have', and 'to be' is relegated, comparatively speaking, to the background. 'Have' is expressed by 'be with', or simply by 'with', with the 'be' understood... This one fact shows how necessary it is for those who draw up grammars to take the language as they find it, instead of trying to fit it into the framework of any pre-conceived scheme. The late Dr. Henry began his *Chinyanja Grammar* —in many respects an excellent piece of work— by conjugating the non-existent verb 'to have'."[1]

A glance through most of the older manuals of Bantu languages reveals that their authors do indeed treat professedly of the verbs "to be" and "to have". What is more, these verbs are usually treated together, or in close proximity in the same section or chapter, or in contiguous chapters. This treatment is doubtless partly explained by the influence of the writer's own native grammatical equipment. A further reason, indicated by Professor Werner, is that copulative verbs are frequently used with the conjunctive formative to indicate possession, e.g.

Nyanja

Positive : *mwāna ali ndi mpeni* (the child is with a knife ; the child has a knife)
Negative : *mwana alibe mpeni* (the child has not a knife)[2]

Sotho (Southern)

Positive : *ke na le thipa* (I have a knife)
Negative : *ha ke na thipa* (I have not a knife)

These examples suggest another possible reason why the verbs "to be" and "to have" have been treated together, namely the ease with which the copulative verb and the conjunctive formative seem to take over each other's functions. In the above examples, the idea of possession is indicated in the positive by the copulative verbs *–li* or *–na* and the conjunctive formatives *ndi–* or *le–*. In the negative, this idea is indicated merely by the copulative verb which, while retaining its own significance, takes over that of the conjunctive formative as well.[3]

[1] Alice Werner, *The Bantu Languages.* (Kegan Paul : 1919.) p. 109. [2] Thomas Price, m.a., *The Elements of Nyanja.* (Blantyre : 1941.) p. 40.

[3] Note that *–li* is a copulative verb in Nyanja whereas *le–* is a conjunctive formative in Sotho ; *–na* is a copulative verb in Sotho whereas, elsewhere, it functions widely as a conjunctive formative. It was a suggestion made to me by Professor G. P. Lestrade that the functions of *na* and *le* had become confused in Sotho which led me to this enquiry.

In Nguni, Shona and Swahili, the copulative verb is not used to indicate possession. The adverbial formed by the conjunctive formative and the adverbial stem functions as a copulative stem forming personal copulatives, e.g.

NGUNI (Ndebele)
Positive : *umntwana ulenqamu* (the child has a knife)
Negative : *umntwana akalanqamu* (the child has not a knife)

SHONA (Zezuru)
Positive : *mŋana aneɓaŋga* (the child has a knife)
Negative : *mŋana haanaɓaŋga* (the child has not a knife)

SWAHILI
Positive : *mtoto ana kisu* (the child has a knife)
Negative : *mtoto hana kisu* (the child has not a knife)[1]

In these examples, we see the conjunctive formative acquiring the function of a copulative verb, the reverse of the former process. In the following example, the copulative verb and the conjunctive formative remain, both in the positive and in the negative, e.g.

LALA
Positive : *ali neciweshi* (he has a knife)
Negative : *talipo neciweshi* (he is not there with a knife, he has not a knife)

Further inspection shows that this assuming of one another's functions which obtains between the copulative verb *-li* and the conjunctive formative in the same language, is more evident when different languages are compared, forms with **na-* in one language corresponding to forms with **-li* in another. In the following examples we shall study the incidence of the conjunctive formative in Shona and see what forms correspond to it in other languages.

The formative *na-* is one of the hardest-worked formatives in Shona. In Zezuru and Karaŋga, it is the formative for the agentive, instrumental and conjunctive adverbials, in Manyika it is the conjunctive formative, e.g.

(Zezuru)
naɓaɓa (by father — a Class 1a stem) *Agentive*
nomurume (by the man) *Agentive*
neshamu (by means of a stick) *Instrumental*
nembga (with the dog) *Conjunctive*

(Manyika)
ndiɓaɓa (by father – a Class 1a stem) *Agentive*
ŋgemurume (by the man) *Agentive*
ŋgeshamu (by means of the stick) *Instrumental*
nembga (with the dog) *Conjunctive*

In the formation of these adverbials, Manyika is more akin to Nguni and Sotho, indicating agentives, at least those of Class 1a stem and absolute pronominal stem, by a copulative, and instrumentals by a formative *ŋga-*.[2] Zezuru and Karaŋga, with Swahili, use *na-* as the formative for agentives, a function which is, significantly, often discharged by an impersonal copulative. Thus another link between *na-* and a copulative construction is hinted at. Reversely, in Nyanja, the copulative formative *ndi-* functions, not only as an agentive formative, but as an instrumental and conjunctive formative as well. In the latter case, it is the copulative that has taken over the conjunctive function, e.g.

NGUNI (Zulu)
nguNgoza (by Ngoza) *Agentive*
ngomuntu (by means of the person) *Instrumental*
nenkosi (with the chief) *Conjunctive*

SOTHO (Southern)
ke ntate (by father) *Agentive*
ka thipa (by means of the knife) *Instrumental*
le mosali (with the woman) *Conjunctive*

SWAHILI
na baba (by father) *Agentive*
kwa njaa (by means of hunger) *Instrumental*
na Hamisi (with Hamisi) *Conjunctive*

[1] Professor Lestrade notes: "In languages with an initial vowel, patent or latent, this vowel appears to be dropped in negation, especially absolute negation, and therefore exercises no influence on *na*. In languages without initial vowel, there is no change in *na* either way. But in Northern Sotho (nowhere else, I think) you *can* get *xa ke ne* (<**na le*) *kxomo* (I have not a head-of-cattle)." [2] In Manyika, *nga-* may further function as an impersonal copulative formative with certain qualificative pronominal stems. e.g. *ŋgewaŋgu* (it is mine).

NYANJA

ndi yani ? (by whom ?)	*Agentive*
ndi mfuti (by means of the gun)	*Instrumental*
ndi cipewa (with a coat)	*Conjunctive*

In Shona, the conjunctive adverbial, as mentioned above, functions as a copulative stem for personal copulatives, e.g.

Positive : *ndineɓaŋga* (I have a knife)
Negative : *handinaɓaŋga* (I have not a knife)

Note the forms :

handina-neɓaŋga rose
handina-neɓaŋga ʒaro (I have not even a knife)

where, probably, the conjunctive adverbial has now become a conjunctive adverbial stem—the whole being the copulative stem, cp.

NGUNI (Ndebele)
Negative : *angila lenqamu* (I have not even a knife)

SOTHO (Tswana)
Negative : *ga ke na le fa e le thipa* (I have not even a knife)

The interesting parallels to the negative form *handinaɓaŋga* in Shona, come from Nyanja and Chikunda, e.g.

NYANJA
alibe mpeni (he has not a knife)

CHIKUNDA
aliɓe cisu (he has not a knife)[1]

Here the suffixal negative formative— *–be* or *–ɓe* —corresponds to the prefixal negative formative *ha–*, and the formative *na–* of Shona to the copulative verb *–li*.[2]

The forms of this copulative with the locative subject concords are the same in Shona and Swahili as those with non-locative subject concords, e.g.

SHONA
Positive : *paneɓaŋga* (here is a knife)
Negative : *hapanaɓaŋga* (here is not a knife)

But in Nyanja and Lamba, the positive expressions with locative subject concords now appear without the conjunctive formative, the copulative verb alone being used. In the negative, the forms with locative subject concords are the same as with the non-locative, e.g.

NYANJA
Positive : *pali madzi* (here is water)
Negative : *palibe madzi* (here is no water)

LAMBA
Positive : *pali aʊ̂antu* (here are people)
Negative : *tapali aʊ̂antu* (here are no people)

There is no conjunctive idea in these Nyanja and Lamba forms. What of the parallel Shona forms ? Has the formative *na–* changed meaning and function and become now a copulative verb—like the verb *–na* (to be) in Sotho ? Nguni uses a purely copulative expression involving a subject concord of Class 17, e.g.

NGUNI (Ndebele)
Positive : *kukhona inqamu* (there is a knife)
Negative : *akukho nqamu* (there is no knife)

while Sotho employs the same form as before in both positive and negative, using now the subject concord of Class 17, e.g.

SOTHO (Southern)
Positive : *ho na le thipa* (there is a knife)
Negative : *ha ho na thipa* (there is no knife)

There is reason to believe that in Shona, in these locative expressions, the formative *na–* has taken on the significance of a copulative verb.

The Shona participial forms of the above are, e.g.

SHONA
(a) with non-locative subject concords :

Positive : { *ndiineɓaŋga* / *ndineɓaŋga* (I having a knife)

Negative : *ndisinaɓaŋga* (I not having a knife) e.g.
ɗayi ndiineɓaŋga, ndiŋgaceke nyama (if I had a knife, I could cut the meat)
ɗayi ndisinaɓaŋga, handiŋgaceke nyama (if I had no knife, I could not cut the meat)

[1] The Chikunda examples are written in the Shona orthography.

[2] *–ɓe* is connected with the negative suffix *–ɓa* in Manyika which, in some forms, is a negative tense formative. e.g. *ndadyaɓa* (I have not eaten); cp. *ndadya* (I have eaten).

(b) with locative subject concords :

Positive : { *painebaŋga* / *panebaŋga* (there being a knife here)

Negative : *pasinabaŋga* (there being no knife here)

e.g. *painebaŋga, hauŋgagare* (if there were a knife here, you could not sit)

pasinabaŋga, hauŋgaceke nyama (if there were no knife, you could not cut the meat).

The Sotho participials with Class 17 subject concord are :

SOTHO (Southern)

Positive : *leha ho le thipa* (though there is a knife)

Negative : *leha ho se thipa* (though there be no knife)

where *le* seems now to be no longer the conjunctive formative but a copulative verb.

The formative *–i–* in the first of the two alternative Shona positive participials is, very likely, a contracted form of *–ri ;* cp.

LALA

kani ali neciweshi (if he has a knife)

It is interesting to note that in each of the three languages that have been instanced as indicating possession by a personal copulative construction in which the stem is a conjunctive adverbial, viz. Shona, Nguni and Swahili, there is this emergence of the copulative verb—in Shona and Nguni in the participial, in Swahili in the relative, e.g.

SHONA

ndaŋga ndiinebaŋga (I had a knife)

NGUNI in the negative participial :

(Ndebele)

kwakunge lakudhla (there was no food)[1]

(Zulu)

amaSwazi abengenazindlu (the Swazi had no houses)[2]

In the Nguni examples, the negative participial infix *–nga–* has become *–nge–*, probably through the influence of the now disused verb *–li*, of which this is one of its few remaining traces.[3] cp.

(Zulu)

abengaboni (they were not seeing)

SWAHILI

watu walio na vitabu (people who have books)[4]

cp. *watu wana vitabu* (people have books)

I do not consider the negative infix *–si–* of the Shona participial form *ndisinabaŋga* to be a compound of *–si–* + *–ri–* because the negative participial of *–ri* is itself *ndisiri* (I not being).

In the relative mood, Shona does not seem to employ the formative *–i–* in the positive because, very likely, the positive relative is based on the indicative in Shona.[5] e.g.

Positive : *munhu unebaŋga* (a person who has a knife)

Negative : *munhu asinabaŋga* (a person who has not a knife)

Before going on to discuss the relative forms in Shona more fully, we may note a further link between *–ri* and *na–* in this language. Besides using the same formative, *–si–*, in the negative participial, e.g.

ndisina (I not with)

ndisiri (I not being)

there are other cases of inflectional parallelism. Thus the formative for the progressive implication is the same in both cases, viz. *–ci–*. Ordinarily it is *–ca–*, e.g.

Positive : *ndicinebaŋga* (I still have a knife)

Negative : { *handicisinabaŋga* / *handisisinabaŋga* (I no longer have a knife)

Positive : *ndiciri mŋana* (I am still a child)

Negative : { *handicisiri mŋana* / *handisisiri mŋana* (I no longer am a child)

For an example of a copulative verb taking over conjunctive functions in the relative, cp.

[1] J. O'NEIL, S. J., *A Grammar of the Sindebele Dialect of Zulu*, (Ellis Allen, Bulawayo : 1915) p. 142.

[2] C. M. DOKE, *Textbook of Zulu Grammar*, (Longmans : 1941) 3rd. edition, p. 210. [3] This suggestion is from lecture notes given by Professor G. P. Lestrade.

[4] E. O. ASHTON, *A Swahili Grammar*, (Longmans : 1944) p. 210.

[5] The difference between the positive indicative and the positive relative is tonal, the direct relative having a uniformly low tone on the subject concord.

ILA

Indicative : *usunu ba di o cholwe* (to-day they are with good luck, have good luck)

Relative : *badi kwi bantu babo ba di milandu ?* (where are those people who have faults ?)[1]

In Shona, conjunctive adverbials with Class 1a or pronominal stems give rise to an interesting set of copulatives in the relative mood ; they are actually relative qualificative pronouns, e.g.

vanaßaßa (those who are with father, father and his companions)
vanaßaßa navanaamai (gentlemen and ladies)

This form, with relative concord of Class 2, supplies one plural for Class 1a nouns. It may, like other plurals of Class 1a, be used in an honorific sense of a single person. Thus in the story which describes the animals as digging in vain for water, the frog asks to be allowed to try. By way of commending himself, he describes himself with this plural relative qualificative pronoun, e.g.

nayi, vakomana, dombomirayi kashoma, tidombopindavo isu vanaCura (now, boys, please wait a moment, so that we Frog people may first also come in).

Other plurals with subject concords of other classes are used in this form. The stem of the conjunctive adverbial is a noun, normally of a class other than Class 1a, but here personified. The subject concord of the resulting relative is of the class to which the noun normally belongs ; or it may be the subject concord of a preprefix which fits the context, e.g.

dzinaMbga (Dog and his companions)
twunaTsuro (Hare and his little friends)
anaPuraŋga akati "Takura" (then the gum-trees grew)
ziNaMbira (Rock-rabbit and his fat little fellows)[2]
vanaMubemhe vadya pano apa (the donkeys have eaten here)

This form may signify a person and his affairs, e.g.

nzara inaCidembo gore rino! (Cidembo's hunger this year !)
ziNaJojo hazikwaniswe (Jojo's things – behaviour – can't be described ; Jojo is a scream)
ziNaßaßa zauya (father has fits ; lit. the things that father has, have come)
zineni hazitaurwe (my mistakes are untold ; lit. the ones I have are untold)

Locative adverbials in Shona (and Chikunda), with stems of Class 1a or pronouns, are of the above form, viz. relative qualificative pronouns, e.g.

panaßaßa (by father – here where father is)
kunaamai (to mother—thither where mother is)
muneni (inside me)

cp. CHIKUNDA
panaßaßa (by father)
panawaSulo (by Mr. Hare)

The formatives *pana–*, *kuna–* and *muna–* may be termed locative formatives for Class 1a nouns and pronouns so long as it is remembered that, syntactically, the locative that results is a relative qualificative pronoun.

In Lamba and Lala, and indeed, in Bemba, the corresponding formatives are *pali–*, *kuli–*, and *muli–*. The rule is thus phrased in Professor Doke's *Lamba Grammar* :[3]

> "Before nouns without initial vowel (i.e. those of sub-classes 1a, 3a, 4a, etc.) and before pronouns, the copulative forms *pali*, *kuli* and *muli* are used, locative phrases being the result: *tāta* (my father, Class 1a) > *pali tāta*, etc."

cp. LALA
pali vata (at, to father)
kuli vata (to father)

The significance of these locative phrases in Shona, e.g.

paneni (by me) ; *kuneni* (to me)

is the same as that of the relative clauses of indirect relation of which *–ri* is the predicate, e.g.

pandiri (by me ; lit. at where I am)
kwandiri (to me ; lit. to where I am)

These are also relative qualificative pronouns.

[1] EDWIN W. SMITH, *A Handbook of the Ila Language*. (O.U.P. : 1907.) p. 184–5.

[2] Here the subject concord refers to the Class 8 preprefix which connotes short and fat things. [3] page 340.

Some of the forms in the basic conjugation of the verb in Shona employ a deficient verb of form *–na*, e.g.

the positive indicative habitual : *ndinofara* (I am glad).

Here the deficient verb has become *–no–* by embodying the contracted prefix of the complementary infinitive *kufara* (to be glad), *–na* + *ku–* > *–no–*. That this deficient verb is a copulative verb and not the conjunctive formative seems probable if we compare with the above, a form which does employ the conjunctive formative, e.g.

ndinokufara kukuru (I have great joy, I am very glad)

This is the Zezuru and Karaŋga form ; cp. the Manyika :

ndinekufara kukuru (I have great joy)

The negative indicative past also incorporates *–na*. The form *handina kufara* (I was not glad) is the negative, both of the positive indicative past, *ndakafara* (I was glad), and of the positive indicative copulative, *ndinokufara* (I have gladness). Here again, probably, the formative *na–* has a dual function, acting as a copulative verb in the verbal predicative and as a conjunctive formative in the copulative predicative. The latter negative would be written : *handinakufara*,

cp. CHIKUNDA – negative indicative past :
ndilibe kuenda (I did not go)

cp. again the SHONA :
handina kuenda (I did not go)

In Nguni and Sotho, the corresponding forms seem to use *na–* in a mainly conjunctive sense, but in a copulative construction, e.g.

NGUNI (Zulu)
anginakuhamba (I won't go, I can't go)[1]

SOTHO (Tswana)
ga ke na go bona (I can't see)

As in Sotho *na* functions mainly as a copulative verb, this change in function is noteworthy.

[1] DOKE, *Zulu Grammar*. p. 211.
[2] J. O'NEIL, S.J. *A Shona Grammar*. (Longmans: 1935) p. 96. [3] E. W. SMITH, op. cit., p. 65.

The relatives formed by *pana–* with nouns and pronouns function in Shona as adverbials of comparison, e.g.

imbga ihuru panemaŋgoyi (a dog is bigger than a cat)[2]

In Ila and Swahili, I note that this idea may be expressed by the formatives *kudi* and *kuliko* respectively, e.g.

ILA
muntu wezu mubotu kudi wonse (this person is better than all)[3]

SWAHILI
nyumba yake nzuri sana kuliko nyumba yangu (his house is finer than mine)[4]

The above brief account with its scattered reference seems to indicate an affinity between the copulative verb **–li* and the conjunctive formative **na–*, conjunctive formative assuming copulative functions and copulative verb assuming conjunctive functions. In some cases one could say that this fluidity of function goes even further, the conjunctive formative becoming a copulative verb and the copulative verb a conjunctive formative. It is perhaps this fluidity of function which explains the position in Sotho where *na* is both copulative verb and conjunctive formative, *le* both conjunctive formative and copulative verb, e.g.

SOTHO (Tswana)
na : *ke na le kgomo* (I have a beast)
ke na le sôna (I have it—Class 9 absolute pronoun)

but compare the alternative forms with the short form of the absolute pronoun :

ke nasô (I have it)
ga ke nasô (I have not it)[5]

le: ke na le kgomo (I have a beast)

but compare Southern Sotho :

ke ne ke le mona (I was here)
leha ho le litau (though there are lions).

[4] E. O. ASHTON, op. cit., p. 201–2.
[5] The forms *ke na naso* (I have it) ; and *ga ke na naso* (I have not it) are also found.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND CORRESPONDENCE

Note to Contributors. Contributors of articles for publication in *African Studies* are asked to note carefully that, in future, all articles should contain a brief synopsis of their contents and method of treatment. For the guide of contributors, we append a statement prepared by the Royal Society, and we request all contributors to acquaint themselves with this.

JOINT EDITORS
African Studies.

GUIDE FOR THE PREPARATION OF SYNOPSIS

1. *Purpose*

It is desirable that each paper be accompanied by a synopsis, preferably appearing at the beginning. This synopsis is not part of the paper ; it is intended to convey briefly the content of the paper, to draw attention to all new information, and to the main conclusions. It should be factual.

2. *Style of Writing*

The synopsis should be written concisely, and in normal rather than abbreviated English. It is preferable to use the third person. Where possible, use standard rather than proprietary terms, and avoid unnecessary contracting.

It should be presumed that the reader has some knowledge of the subject, but has not read the paper. The synopsis should therefore be intelligible in itself without reference to the paper, for example, it should not cite sections or illustrations by their numerical references in the text.

3. *Content*

The title of the paper is usually read as part of the synopsis. The opening sentence should be framed accordingly, and repetition of the title avoided. If the title is insufficiently comprehensive the opening should indicate the subjects covered. Usually the beginning of a synopsis should state the objective of the investigation.

It is sometimes valuable to indicate the treatment of the subject by such words as : brief, exhaustive, theoretical, etc.

The synopsis should indicate newly-observed facts, conclusions of an experiment or argument, and, if possible, the essential parts of any new theory, treatment, apparatus, technique, etc.

It should contain the names of any new compound, mineral species, etc., and any new numerical data, such as physical constants ; if this is not possible, it should draw attention to them. It is important to refer to new items and observations, even though some are incidental to the main purpose of the paper ; such information may otherwise be hidden though it is often very useful.

When giving experimental results, the synopsis should indicate the methods used ; for new methods the basic principle, range of operation and degreè of accuracy should be given.

4. *Detail of Layout*

It is impossible to recommend a standard length for a synopsis. It should, however, be concise and should not normally exceed 200 words.

If it is necessary to refer to earlier work in the summary, the reference should always be given in the same manner as in the text. Otherwise references should be left out.

When a synopsis is completed, the author is urged to revise it carefully, removing redundant words, clarifying obscurities and rectifying errors in copying from the paper. Particular attention should be paid by him to scientific and proper names, numerical data, and chemical and mathematical formulae.

* * *

61 Grange Loan
Edinburgh, 9
3 May, 1950.

The Editor,
AFRICAN STUDIES.

Reading your December issue, with Mrs. Lawson and Mr. Bruwer together concerned with what we call the "Nyanja"-speaking peoples, has been most interesting. They—really the

Maravi people—are probably the most ancient Bantu group of whom we have definite historical information, or at any rate they and the Nguru, in the Nyasa-Zambezi area. Both names occur in Bocarro's Journal under dates in the month of March, 1616. In browsing through these valuable contributions one or two points suggest themselves for comment.

On p. 190 I noted particularly Mrs. Lawson's concluding paragraph. She brings to a close a study of relationships between Nyanja and Yao with a few sentences of conjecture as to the possible historical process lying behind or beneath these relationships. I do not know anywhere so reliable and so lucid an analysis so far as "nyanja" social intricacies are concerned, so it is a great pleasure to be able to assure her that her historical conjecture happens to be an accurate picture of an actual, 400-year-old historical situation.

She says, "The extension of brotherhood to one's mother's, and cousinship to one's father's whole clan, suggests that the Nyanja clans (into which possibly the Yao married) may have grown each out of an extended family group (*mbumba*), living or travelling together." She is right. She will find the whole story—so far as the Nyanja are concerned—in pp. 90–7 of my *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples*. At some date which can hardly be later than mid-XVIth century, an extended family group in which were representatives of the four "clans" (Phiri, Mwali, Banda, Nkhoma) whose names she knows well, did in fact travel south out of somewhere in the north. They traversed the whole length of Nyasa on its western side. Their leader died at a point in the north end of Mombera's district (as we know it to-day), and his son Kanyanda with his nephew Karonga agreed to make the Linthipe river the border between them. Kanyenda's mother was a Mwali. His descendant is in Chintechi District to-day!

South of Linthipe these aMaravi spread out down the years until aNyanja, aMang'anja, aSenga, aUndi cover a wide area. Somewhere about perhaps 200 years later an aJawa people (Yao) mix in with the Nyanja and Mang'anja sections in Shire Highlands and upper Shire River. Meanwhile, north of Linthipe, Cipeta and Cewa also spread out but with the four main clan-names just as prominent in lineages, as is also true throughout the aTonga of West Nyasa district. That is the general picture which history gives and which Mrs. Lawson correctly conjectures.

On one relatively minor point, I would like to venture a correction. At the very opening of her paper, Mrs. Lawson has a reference to the well-known Ngoni people. She mentions scattered groups in the Shire Highlands, but describes the highlands of Central Nyasaland as their "real home". I sincerely hope her words do not penetrate to Ngoniland, or indeed to Mpezeni's people near Fort Jameson! Because the "Gomani Ngoni" bear little or no kinship link now with Zwangendaba Jere's Ngoni who, under his sons Mwambela, Mtwalo, Maulawo, Mperembe and Mpezeni came back—four to Nyasaland, one to Northern Rhodesia—after their father's death at Mapupu in uFipa near Tanganyika. Gomani Maseko (he was no Jere!) was the son of a sub-chief who broke off from Zwangendaba at the crossing of the Zembezi (local pronunciation!) in 1835. The deserters were not heard of again until, about twelve or fifteen years later, they were discovered in the Songeya area of what is now southern Tanganyika Territory. Their discoverer happened to be a sub-chief, Zulu Kanjelu of the Gama clan, who was out raiding east of Nyasa in the disturbed years after Zwangendaba's death. When Gama saw that a complete schism in the Ngoni horde was inevitable, he decided to go east and, if possible, take to himself the area held by Mgabi, father of Gomani. That he succeeded is to be inferred from the fact that Gomani's people were found on their present site when the Europeans arrived, while all around Songeya ranged the "Magwangwara" (The Carrion Crows) as the crow-feather head-dressed Ngoni had by that time come to be called. The Germans knew all about them in the "maji-maji rising" of 1904!

The point is that Gomani Maseko's Central Highlands never have been, and never can be, the "real country" of the Ngoni so long as Zwangendaba's line lasts and "Mombera's district" where

Zwangendaba's heir and his three brothers settled, remains the Ngoni home ; plus Mpezeni's Fort Jameson group, now so sorely diluted among the Cewa-Senga peoples.

Yours truly,

CULLEN YOUNG.

* * *

Corrigenda. Mr. Cullen Young writes to say that the following corrections should be made to his article in the March issue (9/1) on Kinship among the Cewa of Rhodesia and Nyasaland :

p. 30, col. 1, line 18. The sentence beginning "He died . . ." ought to read "He died at *Makama*, i.e. The Palms, some miles to the north of the present station of Ekwendeni in Mombera's district, and his sister's son succeeded him in the title, 'Karonga', while his son Kanyenda retained the headship of his personal group."

p. 30, col. 2, line 2. for "father" read "maternal uncle".

p. 31, col. 2, line 11. for "where their migrating leader died" read "where the son decided to settle while the sister's son went on, after Mazizi's death at Makama and the family separation consequent thereon".

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

MR. G. M. PITJE has until recently been on the staff of the South African Native College, Fort Hare.

DR. M. D. W. JEFFREYS spent many years in the British Colonial Service in West Africa. He is now senior lecturer in Social Anthropology in the University of the Witwatersrand.

REV. G. FORTUNE, S.J. is a missionary in Southern Rhodesia, and has been lecturing in the University of Cape Town School of African Studies during Prof. G. P. Lestrade's absence on leave.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Zulu Woman. Christina, First Wife of Solomon, King of the Zulus. REBECCA HOURWICH REYHER. With a Preface by Ruth Benedict. (Oxford University Press, London : 1948.) xiv + 282 pp. Map. 18/-.

This is an attractive looking book, with a frontiespiece of what purports perhaps to be a drawing of Christina's bust, provided by Richmond Barthé, and the dust-cover displays a beautiful photograph of the author. The new style of American printing enhances the book's appearance, and the author is a good describer of life, scenery, characters and nature, and the flow of her language is unimpeded.

In this second visit, Mrs. Reyher traversed very difficult country to reach Nongoma where Christina was living apart from her husband. What Mrs. Reyher claims to have recorded then, and now reports in this book, is essentially Christina's biography. For her conferences with Christina, the author had the services of a European interpreter. It is important to note that this biography went into print 14 years after it was recorded, and more important still is the fact that its publication nearly synchronized with the death of Christina.

The book primarily unfolds in retrospect the life of an uncrowned Zulu queen, and is also a vivid portrayal of her husband's personality in his role as polygynist. Solomon kaDinuzulu, the king, wooes a young educated Zulu girl by the name of Christina, daughter of Mathathela Sibiya, who eventually becomes his first wife according to Zulu marriage custom. Her place of abode is in one of the royal kraals, into which the king gradually introduces more young women to live in concubinage. This state of affairs, together with the mode of living thus created, become intolerable to a Christian woman like Christina, and she finally decides to abandon her unqueenly status, and leaves to live a life of her own. This was in 1931. Of course, this was not the first time she had left her home, but it happened to be the last. The rupture between the king and Christina reminds one of Louis XIV and the words Marie Mancini uttered to him : "*Vous m'aimez, vous êtes roi, et je pars.*"

It is here that the author enters the scene, and finds Christina in the midst of a long temperamental tempest, and she has nothing but scorn for her husband and vilifies his name in the manner recorded in this book. (Solomon died in 1933, and it is hard to imagine what satisfaction Christina derived from her outspokenness about a person who was no more, unless monetary inducements were offered her or assurances given that the story would never be published.) Knowing women as we do, this attitude was not unexpected. Here one might echo Diderot's words about women : "*O femmes! vous êtes des enfants bien extraordinaires.*"

The book is advertised on the dust-jacket as "The story of a modern woman's rebellion against polygamy", and Dr. Ruth Benedict is quoted as saying that it is "a useful contribution to the fields of anthropology and research into human relationships in various cultures—a vivid, authentic account of the almost imperceptible disintegration of an ancient social system under influences traceable to the advent of the white man in South Africa." That the book is "a useful contribution to the fields of anthropology", an "authentic account", is a sweeping statement which is not substantiated by facts.

The book contains many inaccuracies and, in certain places, misleads the uninformed reader. Some of the blemishes may be due to the author's having been misinformed ; if not, she may have confused some of her recordings. One could quote *ad nauseam* from the book to prove what I allege. Take this, for an example : "At the charge office Christina told them (the police) her name and her surname, where she was born, and *where she paid her head tax.*" (p. 232, reviewer's italics.) Only men are liable for poll tax. Another instance : Solomon is said to have been a "familiar figure to the mining industry", (p. 77), and in his honour "thousands of natives sang and danced, gave an incomparable performance, accompanied by a hundred-piece orchestra of

pianos, drums, and wind instruments fashioned from discarded petrol cans." (p. 77) This surely does not refer to Zulu dancers who do not normally dance to this type of music but to singing and the clapping of hands. I presume the author refers to Chopi dancers. If it is true that "the head of the Zulu nation is, therefore, to be assiduously cultivated as a source of stable labor supply", (p. 77) the Rand gold mines will have been full of Zulu miners by now. But this is the contrary, because Zulus contribute less than 6 per cent of labour to the mines.[1] Perhaps one may surmise that "Tribal organization is of profound importance to the whole European economic structure", (p. 77) if this will serve a dual purpose : (a) as a reservoir of labour from which to draw, through the influence of a chief, and (b) as a means of the implementation of the policy of *apartheid.* The tribes who now have no hereditary chiefs are the main suppliers of labour to the mines.

Again, on page 105 there is this : "Cars reserved for natives, back of the third-class compartments . . .", apparently meaning 3rd class compartments for Europeans, (which, to my knowledge, have never existed in the railways of this country), whereas then as now, there are only 1st, 2nd and 3rd class compartments labelled "*reserved*" for Africans and non-Europeans, and none for Europeans.

Solomon did not acknowledge that he was the father of a child born by one of his wives, and such a child is called in Zulu *ivezandleße* or *igolokodo* (illegitimate child), and it is not correct to say that *ivezandleße* means "something that attracts immediate attention" (p. 182), even if the word is translated literally.

Although very rare, a child born with a caul is not an unknown occurrence amongst Zulus, and they never use a disparaging term like *inunu* (p. 191) for it. Such a child is expected to become an *inyanga* (a genius), provided the caul is preserved to be used for medicinal purposes when it is ill, and to "sharpen" its intellect as it grows up.[2]

Ndlovukazi Christina has three surviving children. According to the order of birth, their names are : (1) Greta Velangokuóonga, (3) Kerrina Sishoniswaphi, and (4) Cyprian Bekuzulu Nyangayezizwe. Ezrom (2) died at an early age.

The impact of European civilization upon Zulu culture and society is also mentioned in the book, and these contacts, which are shown to be largely symbiotic, are referred to in paragraphs on p. 4 and elsewhere.

Here and there the author paints a background by dealing with Zulu custom. She is correct in saying that "Zulus do not worship ancestors, but they treat them with superstitious respect." (p. 96). The reverence Zulus display towards ancestral spirits is not worship in the true sense of the word, and the late Dr. B. W. Vilakazi aptly calls this "the cultus of ancestral spirits". True, Zulus propitiate the spirits (*ukuthetha amadlozi*) which, to them, are a celestial liaison between the people and the Supreme Being (*UNkulunkulu* or *UMvelinqangi*) whom they worship.

One cannot agree with this statement : "Before the advent of the white man, when only Zulu customs prevailed, a child born out of wedlock was instantly killed and so were its parents." (p. 163) Seduction and impregnation have never been punishable by death, but by the payment of damages.

Following the foregoing quotation is this : "The Zulu code had now relaxed to the point where the King took unto himself whatever girls he fancied . . ." (p. 163) This is a privilege Zulu kings have always enjoyed from time immemorial —witness the many kraals (*imizi*) each with an enclosure (*isigodlo*) in which lived exclusively the king's wives and girls. Even the famous bachelor king, Shaka, had such *izigodlo.* Solomon's great-grandfathers had an advantage he did not enjoy—their *izigodlo* were composed of the flower of the nation, uncontaminated by foreign outlooks and behaviours, entertaining no preconceived ideas about privileges accruing to wives of kings in western monarchies, and knowing no other form of marriage than the traditional. His *izigodlo* contained Christian as well as heathen girls, not to mention an admixture of girls bred in towns.

[1] Report of the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission, 1943. U.G. No. 21/1944.

[2] Cf. SUMMER AND KELLER "The Luck-caul in Europe" *The Science of Society.* (Yale University Press : 1945.) Vol. II, p. 1155.

So, in view of the above, this statement is not true : "Not in the memory of any living Zulu had there been a King so possessed with passion for women, or so involved with multitudes of them. Never before had a royal kraal had so many unattached girls, so many quarrels, so much intrigue to gain so flighty a man's attention." (p. 198)

Reverting to the advertiser's statement, there was no cause for Christina's rebellion against polygamy because she knew that tradition bids that a Zulu king be polygamous. She herself was not legally or customarily married to the king, although the king paid part of the *lobolo* out of his father's estate and retained her as his first wife. As Great Wife, it falls upon her to beget from the king the heir-apparent. Now that Nyangayezizwe Cyprian Bekuzulu, Christina's own son, has succeeded to the Zulu throne, there is no reason to labour this point any further, except to touch on a Zulu marriage custom the author has misinterpreted. She writes : "Qolisa is the beast the groom gives to his bride's father and people immediately after the wedding ceremony, as a token or symbol to indicate she has now become one of his clan." (p. 233) *Qholisa* means "to cause to anoint". The beast to which the author refers is called *inkomo yomqholiso*. The *umqholiso* beast is slaughtered and feasted upon by both parties a day after the main wedding ceremony. A short ceremony is then performed at which the bride is sprinkled with the gall of the *umqholiso* beast, and thereafter she becomes a bona fide member of her father-in-law's *umuzi*. Another beast is called *indlakudla* (eat the food), and it is either a goat or a sheep. This beast is killed in conjunction with *umeke*, a goat for the girls and another for the "fathers" of the bride. The three beasts go together to fully consummate the marriage. One may call the *umqholiso* beast the marriage certificate of the Zulus. Even in these days, a Zulu woman does not change her clan, let alone her clan name. If she is born of Nxumalo, she becomes ma-Nxumalo (she of the Nxumalos).

It is contrary to Zulu manners for another woman to be present in a nuptial room or hut. (p. 52) If Solomon asked this of Christina, then his moral sense must have degenerated to the lowest level. By doing this he would incur the displeasure of his ancestors who would not hesitate to curse him for his impudence.

The appendix on "Love Philters and Beauty Aids" makes interesting reading to those who know something about them, but carelessness is observed everywhere in this section where Zulu words are misspelt. Of course, the whole book teems with misspelt Zulu words and names of persons, words and phrases misused. Even the maps are not devoid of these mistakes. Varying translations too of the same phrases or words can be found to differ wherever used.

By and large, the book lacks the good qualities of an anthropological work. As a biography, it is well written, but the author's imagination seems to have carried her into the realm of romanticism considering the way part of Christina's story is reported. She has certainly given her own European interpretations to parts of the story, and most of them are contrary to the environment and pattern of life of the people with whom Christina associated and lived. One suspects falsehoods which border on libel, and these could have been expunged without affecting the book materially.

Lastly, this book will interest those who enthuse in reading books on sex. The main characters are an unfortunate choice. To say the least, the book has greatly irritated Zulu susceptibilities, not because of some obscene things mentioned in it, but because they involve the respected members of their royal family. The many misleading statements, incorrect facts, and inaccuracies, diminish the book's worth, and it is in order to correct some of them that this belated review has been written.

J. M. A. SIKAKANA.

* * *

Nsong'a Lianja, L'Epopée Nationale des Nkundo. E. BOELAERT, M.S.C. (De Sikkel, Anvers : 1949.) 76 pp., 60 Belg. frs.

This great traditional tale of the Nkundo-Mongo peoples of the Congo is here attractively presented in Bantu text and French translation. Lianja is

the legendary hero of these people who inhabit the Equatorial region of Central Congo. There are many legendary accounts of Lianja, who in some areas is practically deified ; and the author of this publication has gone to considerable pains in choosing and reconciling his material. One can see, in some of the exploits of Lianja, episodes which are found in variant forms among other Bantu tribes, and attributed to that remarkable little being of folk-lore, Kalikajana, Hlakanyana, Kantanga, or however he may be entitled in differing areas.

Tone marking is indicated throughout the Bantu text, and the publication is attractively produced. C. M. DOKE.

* * *

Learning a Foreign Language. EUGENE A. NIDA. (Foreign Missions Conference of North America, New York : 1950.) 237 pp., cloth $2.00, paper $1.50.

Dr. Nida is Secretary for Translations, American Bible Society, and Professor of Linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of Oklahoma. He has made his mark with his *Bible Translating*, and his *Morphology, the Descriptive Analysis of Words*. These books shew his remarkable linguistic ability, and his sound grasp of the essentials in translating from the languages of the Old and New Testaments into foreign, particularly "primitive" languages.

The present handbook is a carefully thought-out guide for missionaries tackling a foreign language for their missionary work in its various aspects of the ordinary social contacts with the people, of preaching and of translating. The illustrative material is drawn largely from American Indian and from certain African languages. Dr. Nida's own experience as a missionary has provided him with examples from Spanish and the Indian languages of Mexico. The whole book provides a very full treatment. The earlier chapters are more or less argumentative, emphasizing the importance of serious study and as accurate a grip of the foreign language as possible, warning the learner not to be satisfied with approximations. Guidance is given upon alphabet choice, and a great part of the book is devoted to problems of phonemics, and the mastering of foriegn sounds. Emphasis is rightly laid upon the subject of intonation—a very difficult one for English speakers, for instance. Dr. Nida hammers in the truth that one can only learn to speak a foreign language by speaking. The subjects of grammar and syntax are treated less exhaustively, as they naturally are not so susceptible to a general discussion. It is interesting to note the insistence the author places upon speed of utterance: he continually exhorts the learner to attain the normal speed of speech, even at the expense of initial slips in pronunciation, vocabulary or grammar.

If the reader, as he begins this book, thinks that it is an elementary book of advice, he will soon be disillusioned. Many of the deep problems of language study are dealt with in masterly fashion before the final pages are reached. This is a book which it will repay language students and professors everywhere to study closely. We heartily commend it. C. M. D.

* * *

The African To-day and To-morrow. D. WESTERMANN. (International African Institute & Oxford University Press, London : 1949.) 3rd ed., 174 pp., 12/6.

The good reception accorded to this book is emphasized by the fact that a third edition has been called for. The first edition, entitled *The African To-day* was published in 1934, and the second edition with altered title in 1939. Since then the world has gone through the upheaval of the Second World War. The demand for the book has, however, not abated, and this third edition is welcomed. Dr. Westermann is still devoting his talents for the good of the African, and still in close contact with the International African Institute, of which he was for many years one of the directors.

For the present edition there has been little alteration of the text, though that has been brought up to date. Chapter III of the second edition, "Some Observations on the Negro's Mind" has been omitted, bringing the book into slightly smaller compass. The bibliography appearing before has been modified and has become a list of books suggested for further reading ; this list has been brought up to date. Probably to economize on costs the illustrations do not appear in the third edition, but a map giving types of economic life in Africa has been appended.

This bok is one that should be on the bookshelf of everyone seriously concerned with African affairs. C. M. D.

* * *

Ibo Village Affairs. M. M. GREEN. (Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., London : 1947.) xi + 262 pp., map, plan.

A trained European observer, concentrating on the Ibo woman has given us a deep insight not only on the role of the woman in Ibo society but of the way Ibo village society functions as a whole —a matter on which knowledge was completely lacking. Had Miss Green not wandered into the realm of law, which she never defines, and which must therefore be law as lawyers understand the term, otherwise, for lack of her definition, one would not know what she is discussing by the term law, nothing but praise would be the meed of the book. I shall revert to this subject of law further on.

Miss Green remarks that she has been unable to ascertian the significance of the word Ibo. It may belong to a well-recognized method of tribal naming, where a people call themselves "The Men". Cf. the Ibibio root. *owo* = a person where *b* and *w* are interchangeable phonemes.

The correct distinction is made between magic and witchcraft. "Typically, witchcraft would seem to be the possession of an inherent quality rather than the performance of a traditional ritual. An individual is a witch, whereas an individual makes or possesses magic." (p. 251) According to her informants "people who eat *ɛdɛ*—coco yam—do not have witches." (p. 7) When I was at work among the Ibo in 1930 at Awka, I was informed that witches could not abide the presence of iron and because of the Awka blacksmiths there were no witches in Iboland.

Miss Green suggest that the absence of witches among the Ibo may be because the Ibo can be described as exhibiting by birth "amplifying" temperaments, whereas, according to her, witchcraft is an example of a "simplifying" temperament. The matter is not so simply explained. I will amplify by pointing out that a belief in witchcraft is a function of words only, not of sense perception data : that one has to learn beliefs, including the key words and over a part of Bantu Africa the key word for witchcraft is from a root "*oyi*" ; just as magic in much of Africa is from a root "*anga*". The Moslems, do not recognize witchcraft and consequently in much of Northern Nigeria this belief has died of inanition, yet the temperaments that formerly accepted it still persist. Witchcraft was an unfortunate choice to illustrate the principles of the Human Mind as portrayed by Mackenzie.

Miss Green stresses how important is the number four in ritual and similar matters. One is here dealing with what Dr. Perry drew attention to—the Four Quarter Gods. The days of the Ibo week, like our own weekdays, are named after four sky beings. The rythm of four in Ibo society is only eclipsed by that in Ancient Egypt. "A head of cowries" is a new term for me, though I had mentioned in 1930 that the unit of cowry counting was six. A special cowry enumeration based on six is found throughout Iboland and in other areas that use the cowry as currency.[1]

In the storing of yams in yam stacks—Miss Green uses the term stocks—the Ibo and Ibidio adopt the same system. Yams are stacked in vertical racks, called *ɛkɛ* among the Ibo and *ubak* among the Ibibio. The *ubak* functions as the term bushel does with us. A farm was said

[1] JEFFREYS, M. D. W. "The Diffusion of Cowries and Egyptian Culture in Africa", *American Anthropologist*, January–March, 1948.

to produce a certain number of *ubaks* of yams for a lesser number planted. Miss Green does not mention whether the Ibo have the same idea.

The *mikiri*, the Ibo rendering of the English word "meeting", is well known elsewhere as an *osusu* club. The word *osusu* is said to be an importation from Sierra Leone. I was interested to learn that it had but recently started in *Umuɛkɛ*. This type of club had reached large proportions in the Ikot Ekpene Division by 1923,[1] and became the cause of endless quarrels, disputes and litigation.

Miss Green's analysis of the Dual Division is something new. The widespread division into two of Ibo towns—dual division is widely found in Africa [2]—had been noted by a District officer in 1917. I had not been able to discover that this duality played any part in the social structure. Anthropologists are in debt to Miss Green for showing how it functions in Ibo society. That an innate duality exists in all human societies is hinted at, e.g. the polarity of the sexes is another ; that everything has two ends ; that there is negative and positive in electricity and magnetism may be the underlying feature of duality in nature that becomes manifest in primitive societies. This form of duality would repay investigation.

However, there is evidence that the dual division in Ibo society may not be an indigenous institution any more than that the *mikiri*, the *ɔfɔ*, or the sexagesimal notation in counting Indian Ocean cowries, are indigenous institutions.[3]

Miss Green's examination and analysis of the Ibo system of exogamy is a most valuable contribution to solving the problem of the incest taboos. Lord Raglan debunked most of the theories advanced for incest taboos, but suggested one equally unacceptable. Anthropologists have considered the incest taboo to be based on biological or sex aversions. Heape [4] debunked such theories. Freud's attempt was equally devoid of conviction. Recently an American advanced the theory that incest taboos were devices of human societies aiming at means of ensuring their survival by being able, in times of danger, disaster, or distress, to call on other societies for aid. In other words incest taboos were initially social devices for the preservation of society. "It would seem, in fact, that the social function of exogamy is not so much the preservation of 'clan' or 'village unity' as the ensuring that each village shall be linked to the surrounding ones by the bond of intermarriage." (p. 157) On this subject Miss Green very modestly suggests that "the view of exogamy put forward by Malinowski needs some modification." The view needs complete rejection. Malinowski blurred so many of the items he handled.

Among the Ibo a son is *persona grata* in his mother's village (p. 160) where he is called *nwanwa*. There is an exact parallel in Ibibio society where a son is likewise *persona grata* and is called *eyeyen*, i.e. the "child of the child".

"*Areshe* is described as a supernatural symbol of any kind." (p. 185) Areshe appears to be but a dialectical version of *Alushi* and my own work among the Ibo led me to the conclusion that *Alu* = *Aru* = child and *shi* = *chi*, (cf. *Aro-Chuku* = the children of *Chi* and + *uku*) and that Alushi could best be tranlated into the terms of our society by "saint" or "saint's shrine" or "saint's reliques".

The stigmata of physical and mental degeneration (p. 159) among the Osu may be that persons dedicated to the local Ibo deities belonged to the category of "those whom the gods love, they first make mad", i.e. imbeciles were dedicated to these shrines. Osu intermarriages would tend to accentuate such idiosyncrasies.

Four of the sixteen chapters are devoted to Law, e.g. Law in Maintenance ; Law in Breach (I and II), Law making. Nowhere is law defined. It is useless to enter upon a discussion if no one knows what the discussion is about. The only persons who can define law are lawyers, not anthropologists, otherwise one is not "ad idem" on the subject as the lawyers say. Lawyers themselves are not decided upon following a uniform definition of law, but the following is a

[1] Under the name "menage" this arrangement exists in Scotland. SHENNAN, *A judicial maid-of-all work.* (Edinburgh : 1933.) p. 151. [2] JEFFREYS, M. D. W. Dual Organisation in Africa, *African Studies*, 1946.

[3] JEFFREYS, M. D. W. The Diffusion of Cowries and Egyptian Culture in Africa, *American Anthropologist*, 1948.

[4] HEAPE, W. *Sex Antagonism.* (London : 1913.)

definition of law by a lawyer, and as I have had the honour for thirty years to administer the law first as magistrate, and later acting assistant judge, I accept it as a lawyer's definition of law, to wit : "Law is what the courts enforce."[1] From this definition follows the corollary : "no courts, no law"[2]—an axiom that I have been teaching for some years. So far as the Old World is concerned courts are the councils of the kings. Courts have never developed out of the social structure except in the Fertile Crescent.

The social structure has arbitrators : mob rule, social sanctions ; but courts derived from kings are created by passing through the coronation ceremony as shown by Hocart.[3]

With the ground cleared by defining what is meant by law and by courts one can now approach Miss Green's handling of law. These four chapters, if the discussions and remarks on "law", "judges", "legal sanctions" were eliminated, would be one of the best and clearest expositions of a social structure in full function. The confusion that Malinowski introduced where, in his book, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, he dismally failed to tell lawyers what law was in a primitive society has cast its blight over these, otherwise four excellent, chapters.

On page 73 Miss Green gives a clear but brief description of the way an Ibo village behaves. "It would be easy to over-emphasize the *nde ama ala* (the *ofo* holders of the kindreds) as a formal body even of a kinship order. The whole village, or such part of it as is concerned, can and does participate in any matter that interests it. 'A case [4] forbids no one', they say. Only a description of actual cases judged or laws made will give an idea of what part is played either by the elders or by the assembled village, or what part falls to quite other groups in the community. We shall see again the tendency to a dispersal rather than a concentration of authority. By dispersal we mean not only that the whole body of villagers can and do, if they so wish, take a hand in most practical affairs, but there is often a tendency for matters to be handled in an *ad hoc* fashion by a number of different groups or sections of society rather than by one recognized centre of hierarchy.

"It accords with their absence of centralization that there is no one who can be described as a chief or headman, no one who is what might be called the chairman of the *nde ama ala*." (p. 73) The above is an excellent outline of Ibo society. Miss Green might have quoted the proverb : "The Ibo have no king."[5] That "cases" are decided "in an *ad hoc* fashion by different sections of society", is an accurate observation but it is not law. A society that has no central authority, and decides, as a mob, disputes on an *ad hoc* basis cannot have the political institution known as a court and so cannot have law. Such a society has social sanctions but does not have legal ones. "We shall see when we consider the judicial function that in this society law is distinguished from custom in the sense that it is enforced, directly or indirectly by the community." (p. 78) A community acting directly to enforce a common point of view is neither law in the making nor a judicial process. It is mob rule, or lynch law, or rioting. Whatever it is, it is not a court nor a law, nor a judicial process : it is society enforcing a social sanction, not a legal one.

"Malinowski has stressed the importance of reciprocity in the maintenance of law and custom, particularly in the sphere of civil law." Neither Malinowski nor Miss Green define what civil law is. Every society has a social structure, some have nothing else as e.g. the Bushmen, the Ibo, others have a social structure plus law, such as the Yoruba or our own. Reciprocity is a fundamental recognition in any society, in our own this reciprocity is recognized by law when it takes cognizance of rights *in personam*. In our society the law is prepared to enforce certain reciprocal obligations : in societies destitute of law social

[1] Seagle, W. *The Quest for Law.* (New York : 1941.) p. 17.
[2] Hoeble, E. A. *Man in the Primitive World.* (New York : 1949.) p. 361.
[3] Hocart, A. M. *Kingship.*
[4] "Case" is the wrong term to use : it begs the question. The correct term is : "a dispute, or quarrel, or disagreement, or grievance forbids no one."
[5] Leonard, A. G. *The Lower Niger and its Tribes.* (London : 1906.)

sanctions operate or, if necessary, the entire society rises up and enforces the obligation.

Discussing customary payments Miss Green points out how an Ibo refused to pay the full amount demanded of him because he argued that full payments in the past had not been made to him. "Nothing could have been clearer than his recognition of the reciprocity of the whole situation" (p. 97) except that no law is involved, only the social structure and hence the man never paid, whereas, reciprocity or no reciprocity, he would have been forced to pay in a society that has law and courts.

"When we enquire how such breaches are dealt with we find that there are certain rules the breaking of which will or may call forth action, ultimately backed by force, on the part of, or endorsed by, the community. These rules may therefore for practical purpose be regarded as laws . . ." (p. 99) By whom, one asks ? With the same vagueness one is introduced to Human Laws. What are human laws ? To eat when hungry ? To use self-help in defence of one's property ? What are human laws ? Mob action, rioting ? "One must be preferred for what, to European eyes, may seem a high degree of informality, but to withhold from such informal, or apparently informal methods the term judicial would be to fail to recognize an undeniably judicial function in an unfamiliar form." (p. 103) What Miss Green has failed to recognize either as an anthropologist or as a dabbler in law is what a judicial function is. As she does not define it but confuses a judge with a social mob she is completely wrong in her conception of what law is, what a judicial process is, and what a judicial function is. As she does not define them to make her own meaning clear but uses them under the heading of law, these terms must then be accepted as, in lieu of her own definition, meaning what they do to lawyers.

To appeal to Wilson's definition of law, which again is that of an anthropologist defining law *ad hoc* to suit his own ends is of no help. (p. 103)

On page 105 Miss Green correctly speaks of arbitrators, but on page 106, five lines from the top she calls them judges, lower down again they are correctly termed arbitrators. "If the small body of chosen arbitrators could not find a solution acceptable to both parties, and they had of course no means of enforcing their decision, the litigant who felt he could not abide by their verdict would take further steps." The further steps taken was to have the dispute argued by everybody in the village, and a decision was reached which was not acceptable. "With everyone shouting at everyone else the assembly broke up." (p. 124) Contrast this proceeding with a society that has law. In our own society our social structure provides for arbitrators. Their decision, like that among the Ibo, cannot be enforced but an application by one of the disputants to a court of law will enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

Another instance "of the execution of justice" is described as follows : "On one occasion I saw the married women of Umueke village descend at midnight on the house of one of their number to demand payment of a fine . . ." (p. 143) Klu Klux Klan methods might hope to be recognized by some anthropologists not only as a judicial procedure for the execution of justice but also as a system of law because it would fit Wilson's definition. Malinowski gave a warning on thus interpreting as law, certain activities of social institutions. "Legislation, legal sanctions and effective administration of tribal rules are very often carried out as by-products of other activities."[1] But by-products of other activities are neither law nor justice and the example of that activity of these married women acting at night is a good example of a by-product activity. In the case of these women one is seeing a soceity reacting socially, though lawlessly, in defence of its social structure. The description of it in action is a valuable contribution to the study of social structure in a lawless society. Similarly the reaction of the women in 1928 was correctly labelled in a society that has law, as the Aba Riots.

These four chapters would be a most valuable contribution to the study of social structure had Miss Green recorded her own observations only. Instead she has come under the blurring effects

[1] MALINOWSKI, B. "Culture" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. (New York : 1948.) Vol. IV, p. 633.

of Malinowski's attempts to show how law develops : or that law exists where it does not.

It is quite clear for those who can penetrate the fog created by attempting to describe as law the social structure that the social structure is but the family writ large. It is but a development of family methods of maintaining equilibrium. Thus, a person accused of stealing was slow in paying a fine demanded by his society so the "crowd promptly seized two of his fowls ... In this case we have seen, judicial work was done by a body of people not formally constituted for that purpose, but simply met together in the customary course of kinship obligations." (p. 111) Here is a clear case of mob rule, but it is called judicial work! What is of real consequence is not the attempt to see in mob rule, law, but to see how society, devoid of law, acts, where self-help has ceased to be recognized as a means of redressing a breach of rights.

Miss Green should be aware that there are anthropologists who reject the blurred teaching of Malinowski on law. Thus Evans-Pritchard who gave us the first correct and sound outlook on witchcraft wrote : "In the strict sense of the word, the Nuer have no law".[1] Radcliffe Brown has the same outlook. "The obligations imposed on individuals in societies where there are no legal sanctions will be regarded as matters of custom and convention but not of law : in this sense some simple societies have no law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions."[2]

It is, however, among American anthropologists that the distinction between the social structure maintaining social equilibrium and the function of law, is most clearly held, thus Hoebel writes : "No prevailing concept of the nature of law as given in current definitions will fit the facts as one find them in Commanche society ... nor in the data pertaining to most primitive societies."[3] Hobhouse had years before made this matter quite clear, namely that law as understood by lawyers does not exist in primitive societies. Thus, writing of the jungle people of Asia he says : "Such societies have their customs, which are doubtless felt as binding by their members, but if we mean by law a body of rules enforced by an authority independent of personal ties of kinship, such an institution is not compatible with their social organization. They may be more fairly characterized negatively by saying that they know no law in our sense, than positively by attributing to them the custom of self redress."[4]

Strange to say, Malinowski himself realized that there was no law, *qua* law, in primitive societies for he wrote as follows : "Science, of course, does not exist in any uncivilized community as a driving power, criticizing, renewing, constructing. Science is never consciously made. But on this criterion, neither is there law, religion nor government among savages."[5] One may add that as law is conciously made, neither it nor science, as Malinowski points out, exist in primitive societies. Malinowski's blurred outlook on law was exposed by Seagle's book, *The Quest for Law*, published in 1941.

As I have already remarked, here is a first class piece of field work marred by an attempt to find law where there is no law. Lacking this defect, I would have no hesitation in placing it in the hands of students as study of society, which has developed out of the family organization. As a study of a society maintaining its norms, traditions and equilibrium in the absence of law it would have been a first class piece of work. The discovery of how the dual organization functions, of the social basis of the incest taboo are two items on which Miss Green is to be congratulated.

The book, in spite of its pre-occupation with law, is a good study of a primitive society in full function. More women anthropologists are required in the field. They can get behind the screening that the native woman places between herself and the male investigator. One gets a better integrated view of how society functions

[1] *African Political Systems*. (Oxford : 1941.) p. 293.
[2] RADCLIFFE-BROWN. "Primitive Law", *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. (New York : 1948.) Vol. IX, p. 202).
[3] HOEBEL, E. A. "The Political Organisations and Law-ways of the Commanche Indians", *American Anthropologist*. Supplement, 54/1940, p. 45.
[4] HOBHOUSE, L. T. *Morals in Evolution*. (London : 1915.) p. 72.
[5] NEEDHAM, J. *Science, Religion and Reality*. (London : 1926.) p. 36.

from the hand of a woman investigator than from that of a man.

Another point on which Miss Green should be congratulated is the absence of jargon, I trust Miss Green will go again into the field and give us further studies of women functioning in the tribal social structure. Anthropologists will be richly rewarded.

I did not notice any typographical errors, but the proof-reader should not have passed the following sentence with its subjects in the singular, and its verbs in the plural : "There were a considerable number of *osu*, one of whom had been dedicated to the village deity, and who lived with the priestly family and helped in the service of the cult, but none of them were rich." (p. 51)

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

* * *

Ethiopic Documents: Gurage. W. LESLAU. (Viking Fund, New York: 1950.) 176 pp., illus., $3.00.

This monograph is number fourteen of the Viking Fund Publications on Anthropology. It is only the second that is not concerned with the New World, and one hopes that further monographs relating to the Old World will be published.

The monograph gives a brief description of the Gurage people of Abyssinia, and of the grammar of their language. Then follow Texts, Folk-tales, Songs and Proverbs all in the vernacular, and accompanied by translations and notes. A glossary is also given. The photographs at the end are excellent.

The author used a card file of 2,000 Amheric words which were translated into Chaha, the Gurage dialect he was studying. Nouns were classified according to their endings, consonantal or vocalic ; the verbs according to their biliteral, triliteral or pluriliteral constitution, and so forth. It was thus found that Gurage has forms in its language, not found elsewhere.

The Gurage at present consist of seven groups. One is reminded of the seven groups that by tradition form the Hausa states. In religion the Gurage are Moslems, pagans, Ethiopian—Christians, and Roman Catholics.

The Gurage dialects belong to the south Ethiopic group of languages.

Chaha makes an extensive use of the impersonal verb. In the text on the burial (p. 48) one would like to know whether "going on the sides" was "widdershins" or "the deazel". Waq (p. 50) as a national deity is interesting as being connected with the sky because Wainwright [1] has recently drawn attention to an Arabic document mentioning that the title of the King of Monomotapa was Waq which he connects with the Galla.

The Folk-tale, *Emor Forda*, would appear to be an attempt to explain or to justify ultimogeniture.

More appropriate comments could have been made on the proverbs, thus the comment on (12) ; "In the ashes are the buttocks of him who is not loved" does not bring out the situation clearly enough. The midden is the place where the things that are not wanted are cast, such as ashes, consequently he who is not wanted finds that only where the ashes are, may he sit. (61) : "The idle nobleman eats in the house of the Fuga." The explanation given does not convey what the proverb means, namely that an idle nobleman looses his wealth, and ultimately is supported by his Fuga, i.e. menial slave or serf. One or two other minor points is the use of the personal pronoun in the same sentence as an equivalent of the indefinite, e.g. Proverb (471) : " . . . one seems to be allowed to steal if he is starving." (49) : ". . . a disagreeable situation in which one finds himself." Page 91, tenth line from the bottom, the statement that ". . . all the nine boys came back without nothing" should be either " . . . with nothing" or ". . . without anything".

Scholars become each year more and more indebted to the services that the Viking Fund renders to science, and this monograph puts them further into its debt.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

[1] WAINWRIGHT. "Zimbabwe Culture", *Man*, June 1949. p. 80.